HOW TO KNOW THE BIBLE

GEORGE HODGES

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Etc.

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HOW TO KNOW THE BIBLE

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I

THE MAKING OF THE BIBLE

THE Bible is in everybody's house, and is the most generally read and studied of all books, but it is still in need of simple explanation.

This is partly because it is so old, the latest pages of it having been written at least eighteen hundred years ago; partly because it is a library rather than a book, composed by various writers, in various literary forms, in widely separated countries, and during a period of more than a thousand years; and partly because we read it in a translation which brings the sixty-six books into a single volume, presents them without separate title-pages, makes poetry look like prose, shows no distinction between conversation and description, and deprives the reader even of the benefit of paragraphs. It is an evidence of the extraordinary interest and vitality of the Bible that it has survived the process of printing it in detached and numbered sentences, arranged in double-columned pages of fine type. A better knowledge of the Bible begins with the

perception of order and variety in this confusing and depressing appearance of monotony.

I

It is plain, at the first glance, that the Bible is in two parts, the Old Testament and the New. Everybody knows that the Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew, and that it contains the sacred scriptures of the Jewish religion; and that the New Testament, which contains the sacred scriptures of the Christian religion, was originally written in Greek. The two are bound together for Christian use because the first Christians came out of Judaism, and brought their books with them. Each of these parts is a collection of books.

The Old Testament begins with the five writings called the Pentateuch: *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.* They give an account of the early ancestors of the Hebrew people, moving out of the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates into the land between the Jordan and the Mediterranean, then down into Egypt where they lived long in slavery, then escaping, wandering in the wilderness, gradually shaping their political and religious institutions. They contain the codes of laws in which the details of these institutions were recorded.

Two following books, *Joshua* and *Judges,* describe from different points of view the adventures and misadventures of the invasion, conquest and settlement of Canaan.

Then come two series of histories, each in five volumes, each beginning with the foundation of the monarchy in the reign of Saul, each setting forth the glories of the reigns of David and Solomon, each telling how the kingdom was divided. The first series, introduced by the book of *Ruth,* and including the two books of *Samuel* and the two books of *Kings,* follows the fortunes of both the northern and the southern kingdoms, until the northern ends with the fall of Samaria, and the southern ends with the fall of Jerusalem. The second series, to which the book of *Esther* is added, includes the two books of *Chronicles,* with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah.* It is concerned with the southern kingdom only, whose fortunes it follows into the exile of Babylon, and then to the return and restoration, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

After these histories, there are five books of poetry: *Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes* (in part poetical) and the *Song of Solomon.* And then, five books of what used to be called prophecy, but is now called preaching. Four of these sermon-books, *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel,* are of considerable length; but the fifth, which was anciently called the *Book of the Twelve,* is made up of that number of little books.

Thus *Joshua* and *Judges* are the only interruption in the Old Testament sequence of fives: five books of the Pentateuch, five in the first historical series, and five in the second, five books of poetry and five of prophecy. The Hebrews liked these numerical aids to memory, and were especially fond of the number five, which is represented by the hand.

The New Testament, also, is five-fold: first, the four lives of Christ; then, the *Acts of the Apostles;* then a series of fourteen letters, all of them, except *Hebrews,* written by St. Paul; then a series of seven letters, bearing the names of other apostles; the whole concluding with the *Revelation.*

Each of these collections, Jewish and Christian, contains books concerning which there was much doubt and discussion. *Ecclesiastes,* which in several places denies the immortality of the soul; the *Song of Solomon,* composed of lovers' verses; the book of *Esther,* which nowhere mentions even the name of God; were thought by many Jews to be unworthy of a place in the Old Testament. Many Christians were of a like mind, for various reasons, concerning the inclusion in the New Testament of the *Second Epistle of Peter,* the *Second and Third Epistles of John,* the *Epistle of James* and the *Revelation.*

At the same time there were other books which many good people desired to read in the Bible, but to which admission was finally refused. Fourteen of these, which were set aside in the completion of the Old Testament, appear in the Apocrypha, which is printed in some editions of the Bible. Notable among them are the *First Book of the Maccabees,* the history of a successful revolt of the Jews against the Greeks; *Ecclesiasticus,* a book of wise sayings; and an addition to the book of *Daniel* from which is taken the hymn called *Benedicite,* which is still sung in churches. Just outside of the New Testament are the *Epistle of Barnabas,* the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* and the *Shepherd*

of Hermas. The Old Testament list was completed by the time of the Synod of Jamnia in 90 A. D.; the New Testament list was completed by the time of the Council of Carthage in 397; but the canon of scripture, as it is called, was registered rather than regulated by these assemblies. The books of the Bible owe their place in the collection to popular approval. These are the writings which were most liked by the most people.

II

1. Early in the *Acts of the Apostles,* mention is made of two kinds of Jews who had become members of the Christian society. There were Hebrew Jews, who had been born and brought up in Jerusalem, or at least in the Holy Land; and there were Grecian Jews, who had been born in other countries. These Grecian Jews spoke Greek. Even the Hebrew Jews did not speak the classic Hebrew of the Old Testament, but a form of it called Aramaic; the books which they read were most of them written in Greek. It was therefore desirable to have the Bible translated out of the old language into the new. This was done in Alexandria, where there were many Grecian Jews. A legend of the translation says that a king of Egypt sent to Judea for seventy-two translators, six from each tribe, and that they completed the work in seventy-two days. An echo of this legend remains in the name of the Greek version, the *Septuagint.* The fact is, however, that the translation, which began with the Pentateuch in the third century before Christ, proceeded

so slowly that the last books, *Ecclesiastes* and *Daniel*, did not appear in Greek till the second century after Christ. The *Septuagint* was well known, so far as it was then completed, by the writers of the New Testament.

2. The New Testament writings, added to the *Septuagint*, made a Bible, Jewish and Christian, which met the needs of several centuries. The Christians spoke Greek. When St. Paul wrote to the disciples even in Rome he wrote in Greek. It came to pass, however, gradually, with the growth of the Roman Empire, that Greek was superseded by Latin, and there was need of a Latin translation of the Bible. This was made at the end of the third century by St. Jerome. He began it in Rome, but finished it in Bethlehem. His first intention was to revise a translation which had already been made from the Greek, but this he put aside and made his version directly from the original languages. The wide popularity of this translation gave it its name, the *Vulgate*. It was universally used throughout the Middle Ages, and is still the Bible of the Latin Church.

3. One of the effects of the Reformation in the sixteenth century was to emphasize the importance of nationality. A part of this movement was the ecclesiastical separation of England from Rome. An incident of this separation was the translation of the Bible into English.

The purpose of the early translators of the Bible into English was to improve the religion of the people, and especially to show them that the superstitions,

complicated ceremonies and clerical tyrannies of the Middle Ages had no foundation in the Scriptures. This they tried to do not only by translating the Bible into plain English but by accompanying the text with notes, in which these superstitions, and invasions of simplicity and liberty, were roundly denounced. Thus these English versions were controversial documents, and were naturally resented and opposed by ecclesiastical authorities who had a conservative mind. It was for this reason that Bibles were publicly burned by bishops, and that William Tyndale, the chief translator of the Bible into English, was put to death.

As the Reformation progressed, however, it was seen that the spirit of nationalism in religion would be strengthened by the reading of the Bible in the language of the nation. A translation by Miles Coverdale was permitted in England. Presently a combination of the work of Tyndale and the work of Coverdale, called the *Great Bible,* was set forth by authority. In this Bible the translation of Tyndale included the New Testament and the historical books of the Old Testament; Coverdale translated the books of poetry and of prophecy. These two men made the Bible which we read. It was revised in 1611 by scholars appointed by King James, and this revision was revised in 1881 and 1885 by scholars whose cooperation was invited by the Church of England. The revisers brought to their tasks the improved scholarship of their day, and made many corrections; they re-studied the Bible in the original languages; but the resulting translation is still substantially the Bible of Tyndale and Coverdale.

The translation which is used, for the most part, in this book is the King James Version as paragraphed in *Everyman's Library,* where it is printed in five convenient volumes.

II

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW SPIRIT

THE fact that some of the Old Testament books were admitted with hesitation, after doubt and debate, establishes the principle of inequality. This is an inevitable characteristic of all collections: every considerable number of things is made up of better and worse. They may all be good, but there will be varying degrees of goodness.

Thus we perceive that the New Testament is a better teacher of religion than the Old; *Samuel* and *Kings* are more reliable histories than *Chronicles;* the sermons of Amos and Hosea are on such great themes as the fear and love of God, the sermons of Haggai and Malachi are about such lesser matters as the erection of a church building and the generous support of the services.

The Bible is not level, like a desert; it is full of hills and valleys. It is not like an enclosed garden, with trim beds of growing things, carefully weeded, and intersected by neatly graveled walks; it is like a wide expanse of country; with farms, but also with forests in which there is thick undergrowth and trunks of fallen trees; with land partly fertile, but partly infertile; with good roads between populated town and

town, but also with abandoned roads still marked with old deep ruts but now leading nowhere. The Bible is not an account of a series of monotonous centuries, like the annals of a stagnant people; it is a record of progress, out of ignorance into better knowledge, from lower to higher ideals. It is as interesting as a river, on its varied way from the mountains to the sea. The notion of a Golden Age in the past is neither Hebrew nor Christian. It is a pagan conception of a decadent world. In the Old Testament and in the New, the Golden Age is in the future. Men are looking forward with expectation to the coming of the Messiah, and then to his coming again. The redemption of mankind is yet to be. The kingdom of God is to be continually prayed for, and prepared for.

If then we are to know the Bible in any true sense, we must begin with the fact that it is a record of progress. We are thus provided with answers to many hard questions.

I

Some of these questions relate to a conflict between religion and science.

A few years ago a popular antagonist of conventional religion went about lecturing on the Mistakes of Moses. He took his material from the errors which he found in the first five books of the Bible. He might have made a similar lecture on the Mistakes of Plato, or of Julius Cæsar, or of Thomas Aquinas, or of anybody else who lived more than five hundred years ago. The dullest child in the grammar school knows more

about the world than they did. But the significance of the lecture was in a theory which was then held by many people to the effect that the inclusion of the books of Moses in the Bible was a guarantee of the infallibility of Moses. Science, comparing what the world says about itself with what Moses said about it, declared that Moses was in error. Religion was supposed to claim that everything which Moses said was right. There were, indeed, apparent errors, but they were laboriously explained away.

This was not only a laborious but a painful process. In their zeal to maintain the inerrancy of Moses, some Christian scholars seemed to be like those lawyers who are intent not on the revelation of the truth but on the winning of their case. They gained the whole Pentateuch at the peril of the loss of their own soul.

Meanwhile the Bible itself was so indifferent to the whole matter of the accuracy of the Old Testament account of the making of the world that it offered its readers a free choice between two quite different accounts. According to the first account "the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters"; then came stars and continents and planets and animals and man. In the second account, in the place of the deep there is a desert, "for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth," only "there went up a mist from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground"; then came trees, and a garden in Eden, and a man "to dress it and to keep it," and after the creation of man "the Lord God

formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air."

The fallacy at the heart of the situation was the failure to recognize the fact that the Old Testament is a record of progress. The accounts which it contains of the making of the world are true in the sense of being true records of what the Hebrews thought about these matters, several thousand years ago. But mankind would be dull indeed if after all these centuries of residence upon this planet we know no more about it than was known a thousand years before Christ in the Mediterranean provinces of Asia.

II

This controversy between religion and science was followed by a much more serious contention between religion and morality.

The situation was this. On the one hand was religion, requiring complete acceptance of the Bible; on the other hand was the Old Testament, praising, or at least allowing, conduct which the New Testament condemned. The Old Testament said, Hate your enemies, spoil their goods, kill them and their wives and children.

Thus in the *Fifty-eighth Psalm* we are instructed how to regard the wicked.

Before your pots can feel the thorns,
He shall take them away as with a whirlwind,
Both green, and burning.
The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance:

He shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.
So that a man shall say:—"Verily there is a reward for the righteous:
Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth."

The desire of the righteous man to wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly appears again in the *Sixty-eighth Psalm.*

The Lord said:—I will bring again from Bashan,
I will bring my people again from the depths of the sea:
That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies,
And the tongue of thy dogs in the same.

So also in the malediction of the *Sixty-ninth Psalm.*

And when they are in peace, let it become a trap.
Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not;
And make their loins continually to shake.
Pour out thine indignation upon them,
And let thy wrathful anger take hold of them.
Let their habitation be desolate;

At the end of the *Hundred-and-thirty-seventh Psalm* the writer speaks his mind about men of Edom who laughed when Jerusalem was destroyed, and cried, "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground."

O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed,
Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.
Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones
Against the stones.

The metrical separation of the last words, writing "Against the stones" in a line by itself, presents with

added vividness of reality this act of supreme retaliation.

The deepest depths of these imprecations are reached in the *Hundred-and-ninth Psalm,* where the petitions

> Let his days be few,
> And let another take his office.
> Let his children be fatherless,
> And his wife a widow.
> Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg:
> Let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places.
> Let the extortioner catch all that he hath,
> And let the strangers spoil his labour.
> Let there be none to extend mercy unto him,
> Neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children.

are preceded by the most penetrating and comprehensive of all curses,

> And let his prayer become sin.

Even when he prays, in bitter misery, or in repentance, turning to the mercy of God, "let his prayer become sin!"

This was the attitude of the Old Testament people even toward those who were their enemies only by the accident of geography. The inhabitants of Canaan were inoffensive persons who had the misfortune to live in a part of the country which the Israelites desired for themselves. But when the army of Joshua took Jericho, "they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and

ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword." (*Joshua* 6:21.) So did the army which the prophet Elisha led against the land of Moab. "The Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them; but they went forward smiting the Moabites, even in their own country. And they beat down the cities, and on every good piece of land cast every man his stone and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water, and felled all the good trees." At last the king of Moab took his eldest son and burned him alive on the wall as a last desperate prayer for help from heaven against these invaders whose war-cry was "Thus saith the Lord." (*II Kings* 3:24-27.)

This was the most difficult factor in the problem of those who were trying to hold the inerrancy of the Old Testament along with its morality. They were greatly troubled by the confident assertion of the people of Israel that they did these things by the command of God. When the light of the New Testament was cast upon these pages, there were Christians in the early church who were so offended that they entered readily into a heresy which affirmed that the God of the Old Testament was an evil God.

But the solution of the conflict between religion and morality is like the solution of the conflict between religion and science, in the fact that the Old Testament is a record of progress. It is a frank and honest statement of the stages through which the Hebrew people passed on their way toward better civilization and better religion. These things they did, coming as wild men from the wilderness, because they knew no better.

They said in all sincerity that they did these things because they were bidden of God, acting according to the best understanding which they then had. They said, "I heard the voice of God speaking in my soul, and God told me to do this and that." They went and did it, in obedience, as they believed, to God. But we examine what they did in the light of the disclosure of the divine will in the New Testament, and we see that they were tragically mistaken. The thoughts of their hearts and the works of their hands show how long ago they lived, and out of what depths mankind has slowly and painfully climbed to the Sermon on the Mount.

III

The principle of progress in the Bible, and the fact of inequality in its moral values, appear in the significant words in which Jesus rebuked James and John for proposing to follow the example of Elijah.

They were on their way to Jerusalem. The nearest road ran through Samaria. Upon this road they started, and sent messengers to the next village to arrange for food and lodging. The messengers returned and reported that neither food nor lodging could be had. So strong was the feeling against Jews in this Samaritan community that the people were unwilling to extend any hospitality whatsoever to anybody who was going to the Jewish capital to attend a Jewish feast. Thereupon James and John, whom Jesus had already called "Sons of Thunder," proposed to him that they should pray for lightning. " 'Lord, wilt

thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elijah did?' But he turned and rebuked them, saying, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' And they went to another village."

The disciples did not understand it. They perceived, indeed, that they were not at that moment to summon the artillery of heaven, and they went with their master to another village, but they did not comprehend the full consequence of his admonition. They did not realize the bearing of his words on their general relation to the Old Testament. Some years later, when the Old Testament question was debated with such implications that upon the settlement depended the decision whether there should be any Christian Church or not, there were two parties. One said, The Old Testament does not bind us, we are not in bondage to the law of Moses, we are free to shape our plans and our methods in any manner which shall adapt them to the needs of our own time; but the other said, The Old Testament is the everlasting rule of life, its precedents must be followed, its precepts must be obeyed, its supremacy must be maintained, under all conditions. And although the conservative brethren lost the debate, and the Christians refused to be governed by the rubrics and canons of the Old Testament, nevertheless they brought the Jewish scriptures over into Christian use, and affirmed their moral and spiritual authority.

The matter was decided, however, that day in Sa-

maria, when James and John quoted the Old Testament, and Jesus declared the governing principle of Old Testament interpretation. He said that the Old Testament is to be judged by its accordance with the new spirit. Thereby he freed his followers for all time from moral bondage to the lower standards of the past. He taught them to use the "cancellation of development." They were freely to reject whatever they found to be outgrown in the morality or in the theology of the Old Testament. They said, "See what Elijah did"; but he answered, "Yes, don't do that. If Elijah did it, it was because he knew no better. We have learned much about God and about man since Elijah's day. You are to judge the past by the standard of the new spirit." Thereafter, when Old Testament examples are cited, we are to examine them to see if they are good examples. We are to estimate them, not by the praise which attends them in the old chronicle, and not by the assertion of their eulogists that thus they did by the express revelation of God. We are to test them by the spirit we are of; that is, by the supreme standard of the life and word of Jesus Christ.

The Old Testament, as Christ explained it, is not a revelation of the will of God, in such a manner that we may open it at any place and find out what the will of God is. It was for this undiscriminating reference that the disciples were rebuked. The Old Testament is a record of the endeavors of men to learn the will of God and do it. It is an account of the progress which they made in this the chief of our human undertak-

ings. The chronicle begins, as we would expect, with intellectual and moral imperfection. God deals with men, as we deal with children, according to their strength and understanding. If the best that they can do in the way of theology is to think of God as a man, coming down out of the sky, and talking with Adam and Eve, very well; that must serve until they are able to think more clearly. If the best they can do in the way of morality is to return evil in good measure for evil, exacting an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, even so, some rule is better than the anarchy of undisciplined revenge; out of these rude ethics shall at last proceed the Sermon on the Mount. The Old Testament is an honest account of theological and moral progress. It is a record of splendid successes; it is also a frank recital of failures. It is not to be read all in one tone of voice. It was written for our learning, but one of the lessons which we are to learn from it is that mankind comes slowly along the way of betterment.

IV

We are not responsible for the Old Testament. We are not under obligation to defend it where by the standard of the new spirit it can not be defended. Under such circumstances we are to deal with it as Jesus dealt with the example of Elijah, and as he dealt at other times with Old Testament ideals of neighborliness and brotherhood. We are to say with all frankness that this and that may have been very well when

it was said and done, long ago, before Christ, but that we know better now.

We are not responsible for the Old Testament knowledge. It is of no concern to us whether the men of the old time were right or wrong in their ideas about the making of the world. It used to be considered a matter of very grave concern. There were times when men of science, if they desired to keep their liberty and save their lives, were compelled to undertake the impossible task of pouring the increasing knowledge gained by study into the narrow moulds which were constructed in Asia in the days of man's ignorance. If they discovered anything which was not known in the time of Abraham, especially if it did not agree with the accounts which were transcribed in the book of *Genesis* from the bricks of Babylon, they must conceal it like a crime. The Old Testament blocked the way of science. Within our own memory the theories of geologists and astronomers were debated not on the basis of their agreement with the facts but on the basis of their accordance with the Old Testament. Not until recent years was it perceived that the proper reply to such conservative persons is like the rebuke which Jesus addressed to James and John: Ye know not what knowledge ye are of.

We have held ourselves responsible not only for Old Testament morality and theology, and for the accuracy of Old Testament history, but for the inerrancy even of the Jewish rabbis who wrote names of authors at the beginning of writings which were originally anonymous. If they said that David wrote such and such

psalms, we felt obliged to agree with them against the evidence of the psalms themselves. If they said that Isaiah wrote the whole of the book of *Isaiah* we must defend the statement even though it is plain in the book that the second half was written two hundred years after the first half. We must make the facts fit the theory.

When Jesus told the disciples that Elijah was mistaken, he liberated us from allegiance to the Old Testament, and bound us only to Old Testament truth,—to Old Testament truth certified by the knowledge and spirit we are of. When we encounter errors of statement and deficiencies of doctrine in these pages we are not to shut our eyes to them, to conceal them, to deny them, or to behave ourselves in any unnatural or insincere manner. We are to follow the example of his frankness. Out of bondage to these ancient books, he has set us free.

III

WHAT, THEN, IS INSPIRATION?

CAN we read the Bible in this free way,—preferring one part to another, choosing here and refusing there, agreeing but sometimes disagreeing,—and still believe that it is an inspired book? It depends on what we understand by inspiration.

The verb "to inspire" means to breathe in or upon. Thus "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." In this sense all human beings are inspired: inspired with life, of which breath is the symbol, and of which God is the origin. The only occurrence of the word "inspiration" in the Old Testament is in the book of *Job* (32:8) where it says, "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." In the Revised Version this reads, "the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding." Here again, we are all inspired of God, but to the idea of the divine origin of our life is added the idea of the divine origin of our reason. We are able to think and to know because the breath of God is in us.

A similar expression is the "spirit of God." The spirit of God comes upon the prophets, and they prophesy. This is at first different from the sober

words of the inspired books. Thus Moses "gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tabernacle. And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit which was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders; and it came to pass that when the spirit rested upon them they prophesied, and did not cease." (*Num.* 11:24, 25.) The account is vague, but it seems to imply something other than the pronouncing of decisions or the imparting of divine truth. There was probably an incoherent or ecstatic element in it, as in the oracles of other religions.

In the New Testament, along with the phrase the "Spirit of God," there are many references to the "Holy Spirit," the "Holy Ghost." The inspiration thus derived is described plainly as resulting in some form of ecstasy or incoherence. Thus St. Paul, discussing the gift of speaking with tongues (*I Cor.* 14) says, "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also": making a distinction. And he adds, "If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?" At the first hearing of the tongues, on the Day of Pentecost (*Acts* 2:13), some of the bystanders said, "These men are full of new wine."

Gradually, both in the Old Testament and in the New, the phases of inspiration which suggested intoxication or insanity passed, and we have the sober

words of prophets and apostles. There passed also, for a time, the idea of limiting the gift of inspiration within the circle of a class. Even in the case of the seventy elders, "there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad; and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp. And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, 'Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp.' And Joshua, the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said, 'My Lord Moses, forbid them.' " These young men had the enthusiastic exclusiveness of youth. "And Moses said unto him, 'Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!' " Long after, in a day when the barrenness of the official prophets was notorious, an inspired man, Amos, who declared concerning his words "thus saith the Lord," declared also that he had no connection with any prophetic society. "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son. The Lord took me as I followed the flock."

So in the New Testament. At first, the apostles alone are inspired. The *Gospel of St. John* leaves the matter without exact determination, calling the group whom the Lord especially blessed "disciples" (*John* 20:19); but the *Gospel of St. Luke* specifies the eleven who remained after the death of Judas (*Luke* 24:33-36). These were they to whom he said, " 'Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, even so send

I you.' And when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith unto them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' " But a little later, when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they who were all with one accord in one place seem to have been not only the apostles but the brethren of Jesus, and his mother, and a group of devout women (*Acts* 1:14). Upon all these came the Holy Ghost, with a sound as of a rushing, mighty wind, and an appearance as of tongues of fire. They were all inspired alike. And they went out inspiring others. The primitive signs of inspiration followed them. On whomsoever they laid hands, they received the Holy Ghost (*Acts* 8:19). Indeed, the Spirit waited not even for a laying on of hands. In the house of the centurion, Cornelius (*Acts* 10:44), while Peter was speaking, "the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word." The same inspiration accompanied the ministry of St. Paul, remote as he was from the apostolic society; "when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied." Like Eldad and Medad.

In the only place in which the word "inspiration" is used in the New Testament (*II Tim.* 3:16), the reference is not to inspired persons but to inspired writings. "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The preceding sentence speaks of "the holy scriptures," which Timothy has known "from a

child." These, of course, are Old Testament scriptures; but the phrase is somewhat vague, because, as we have seen, the list of Old Testament scriptures was not at that time determined. There was no collection in a book, as we use the word book; that manner of binding had not come into use. The collection was in a box, which contained a number of rolls, more or less. It is unlikely that by any happy coincidence the Old Testament which was at the hand of Timothy's mother and grandmother, who brought him up, was precisely identical with ours. It matters little, however, even when we omit the word "is," (which the King James Version prints in italics to show that the translators are doubtful about it), and read the sentence in the Revised Version: "Every scripture inspired by God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction." Inspiration is still undefined. Even if it had been said, in so many words, "Every Old Testament book is inspired of God," we must still ask, But what is meant by inspiration?

The indefiniteness of the word is increased when we find it applied not only to books but to buildings. It appears in the Old Testament that not only prophets and apostles but architects may be inspired. Here is Bezaleel, of the tribe of Judah, of whom the Lord says to Moses, "I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones to set them, and in carving of timber." This is in order that Bezaleel may build and

furnish and adorn the tabernacle. With him was inspired Aholiab also, and other craftsmen: "In the hearts of all that are wise-hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee." They were all inspired. "Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work, and of those that design cunning work." (*Exodus* 35:30-35.) Not only is it true that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (*II Peter* 1:21), but holy carpenters, jewelers, dyers, and weavers wrought at their several crafts as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

The Old Testament declares also the inspiration of adventurers. It was under the impulse and in the strength of God that the heroes went into battle. So it says many times in the book of *Judges*. The spirit of the Lord came upon Othniel, Caleb's younger brother, and he went out to war, and the Lord delivered the king of Mesopotamia into his hand. The spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet, and called the tribes to battle. The spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah. The Philistines shouted against Samson, "and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed from off his hands. And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand and took it, and slew a thousand men therewith."

The inference is that all the courage of the captains and of the soldiers with them, and all the cunning excellence of architects and artists, and all the holy scriptures—all the good books—are inspired of God. From the inspiration of the writings of the Old Testament the fathers quietly inferred the inspiration of the writings of the New, and this they extended to include the decisions of the great church councils. Not the Bible only but the living Church was inspired. And if the living Church, who shall deny that as God inspired Amos whom the priest of the king's chapel expelled from Bethel, and as God inspired Paul whom the high priest expelled from Jerusalem, so God may have inspired many another who was subjected, like them, to ecclesiastical condemnation? The boundaries of inspiration widen out indefinitely. They are as elusive as the horizon.

We have not yet arrived at a definition, but it is sufficiently plain that our way does not lie in the direction of the theory of "verbal inspiration."

According to this story the Bible is God's book, and the men whose names are attached to various parts of it were only his secretaries, who wrote at his dictation. The result of this supernatural process is an infallible book. "The Book itself," says a believer in this theory, "knows of but one kind of inspiration, and that is an inspiration which extends to every chapter, verse, word and syllable of the original Scriptures, using the mind and mouth, the heart and hand of the writer, guiding them in the least particular, guarding them against the least blunder, and making their utterances the very

word of God to our souls. . . . The Scripture, and the entire Scripture, claims to be, and is in fact, altogether exempt from errors or mistakes of any sort." The proof or disproof of such a theory lies in the book itself. It is a plain question of fact. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible is subject to the same sort of examination as the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope. The assertion that the Scriptures are without error or defect of any kind is like the assertion that there is no defect or error in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The answer is in the pages of the book: is there any misstatement or mistake, or not? The determination of the fact is in the province of competent scholars, but it is also within the ability of everybody who is able to read.

Being restrained by the Bible itself from calling its inspiration verbal or mechanical, other descriptive adjectives are "moral," "dynamical," "vital." The phrase "vital inspiration" expresses the common opinion of our time.

In the lives of some men there are moments of unusual vision and exaltation. Into this experience even ordinary persons enter in times of exceeding emotion, but it is the special privilege of those whose difference from the common run of men is called genius. In such moments they see visions of truth and beauty, and hear voices which bring answers to ancient problems. They are unable to give prose accounts of these experiences. They come out of the silence into the street, and, if they attempt to describe what happened to them, they say that they heard the blowing of a mighty wind, and

saw the flames of mystic fires; or some such thing. St. Paul, to whom this happened many times, confessed that whether he was in the body or out of the body, he could not tell. All that he knew was that he was caught up to the third heaven, and "heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." That was his way of expressing it. Bezaleel and Aholiab, inspired craftsmen, would no doubt have expressed it differently; so too would Gideon and Jephthah, inspired captains. But in all cases it is essentially the same thing. Men are conscious of an impartation and impulse from without. They are lifted above their ordinary selves. Suddenly, the world about them is illuminated, as by a flash of lightning in the dark, and they know where they are, and what things mean, and where to go, and what to do. They come out, and write a poem, or a sermon, or a chapter of a book, or they build a house or a bridge, or paint a picture, or make a new plan of campaign, or put a new resolution into effect.

For this vital inspiration, as the Bible itself suggests, is not peculiar to religion. Neither is it essentially different in religion from what it is in other fields of life. People used to ask, when this doctrine was debated, how the inspiration of Isaiah differed from the inspiration of Shakespeare or of St. Augustine. There was never any very satisfactory answer. It was like asking how the genius of the one differed from the genius of the others. The "spirit of God," as it says in the Old Testament, was upon them all: also upon Michael Angelo and Raphael, upon Copernicus and

Newton, upon Washington and Lincoln. Each of these men was so uncommonly filled with power, or with wisdom, or with insight, or with the knowledge of the truth, that he perceived, and his neighbors perceived also, that he was moved of God. That seemed the most direct and simple explanation. The divine impulse and the divine guidance did not relieve them from the necessity of work, neither did it insure them against making mistakes; neither did it obliterate their individuality, rather it emphasized it. What it did was so to vitalize them, so to enrich and strengthen their souls, that they were able to do great deeds, and to think great thoughts. These men, whether they wrote books of the Bible, or built churches, or ruled states, or made any other contribution to the progress of the world, were inspired of God.

IV

THE PENTATEUCHAL ALPHABET

WHOEVER ventures even a little way into the literature of Old Testament interpretation comes upon the letters of a mysterious alphabet: *E* and *J, D, P, H,* and *R.* They indicate the source materials out of which the first five books of the Bible were made.

I

It was noticed long ago that these books contain many duplicates. The same event is described in different places differently.

Sometimes the two accounts are set down side by side, as in the first and second chapters of *Genesis.* Sometimes there are variations in the course of the same narrative, as in the story of the Flood, where the divine command to Noah calls him to bring "of every living thing of all flesh two of every sort" into the ark (*Gen.* 6:19), and then in the next paragraph the book says that "the Lord said unto Noah. 'Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens.'" Also, it says in one place (*Gen.* 7:17) that "the flood was forty days upon the earth," and in another place in the same chapter, "the waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days."

Individual duplications, variations and differences are capable of ingenious explanation, but scholars, in the progress of their patient studies, found that the number of these disagreements is very great. They occur throughout the first five books of the Bible, and also in the sixth.

The presence of similar disagreements in the New Testament is accounted for by the fact of differences of authorship. Thus there are various statements as to the order of the temptations of Jesus (*Mt.* 4; *Lk.* 4), as to the time of the casting out of the traders from the temple (*Mt.* 21; *Jn.* 2), as to the day of the Last Supper (*Mt.* 26:17; *Jn.* 13:1). Four different biographers, each assembling his materials from different sources, would naturally differ in such details as these. Might not the duplications and variations of the Pentateuch have a like origin?

As for the fact that in the Pentateuch the writings of the several authors,—if there were several,—are combined in a single narrative, it was remembered that a like combination had once been made of the writings of the four evangelists. About the year 150 a Christian missionary named Tatian made a book called *Diatessaron.* The word means "Through Four," and the book was a Life of Christ made by bringing the four gospels into a single narrative. Tatian began with the prologue to *St. John's Gospel,* proceeded with the accounts of the infancy in *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke,* and then selected now from one gospel, now from another, arranging the materials in order, according to his judgment; sometimes omitting, sometimes retain-

ing, parallel passages. It seemed possible that the *Diatessaron* might take the place of the four gospels; *Matthew, Mark, Luke* and *John* being eventually forgotten. It was read in place of them in many churches. It was gradually disused, however, and now survives only in translation. The resolving of it back into its original materials is one of the problems of scholars. They can determine what passages came from Mark and what from Luke, and what passages are pieced together out of fragments of all four.

It was discovered that the Pentateuch is also a *Diatessaron,* made by combining four source-materials which were once as independent as the gospels. To these materials were given the distinguishing letters, *J, E, D,* and *P.*

II

In the year 621 B. C., in the reign of King Josiah, the temple at Jerusalem was cleaned, and repaired, and put in order. This was made necessary by the fact that there had been a pagan king upon the throne of Judah, and during his long reign the temple was profaned and neglected. In the course of this restoration there came to light a remarkable book. The account of the discovery is in the twenty-second chapter of the *Second Book of Kings.*

Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe:—"I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord." And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said:—"Thy servants

have gathered the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have the oversight of the house of the Lord." And Shaphan the scribe shewed the king, saying:—"Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book." And Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor, the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah a servant of the king's, saying:—"Go ye, enquire of the Lord for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against me, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us."

And they brought the king word again. And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up into the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord. And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all his heart and all his soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood to the covenant.

The reformation which was thus undertaken by the king reveals the contents of the book. He destroyed a multitude of idols; he took away "the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun," and burned the chariots of the sun with fire; he broke down the idolatrous altars; he defiled the shrines of Ashtoreth, the

god of Sidon, and of Chemosh, the god of Moab, and of Milcom, the god of Ammon, and Topheth where men had made their sons and daughters pass through the fire to Molech, and all the sanctuaries of Baal; he desecrated all the "high places," and took away all their priests; and he put away the familiar spirits, and the wizards, and all the abominations, "that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord."

The characteristic act of this reformation was the centralization of worship in Jerusalem. The "high places" were associated with all the long history of Hebrew religion. They were shrines like Bethel, where the patriarchs had met God. Some of them had been holy places long before the days of the patriarchs,—holy wells and holy hills of primitive religion. Some of them had inherited local traditions and customs of that old paganism, as the saints of the Middle Ages inherited in their shrines the legends of the exiled gods. They were refuges of superstition. The abolition of these sanctuaries was a revolution as radical as would be involved to-day in the burning of all the country churches, and the forbidding of public worship in any place except a cathedral in the chief city. It was accounted necessary, however, to secure and maintain the purity of religion. It was made possible by the requirement of it in the book.

If this book is still in existence, it is the book of *Deuteronomy*. *Deuteronomy* contains the commandments which Josiah obeyed. It is, indeed, in the form

of addresses made by Moses to the people of Israel before their entrance into the land of Canaan. But so are the dialogues of Plato in the form of questions and answers made by Socrates. We may be content to say that the maker of the book of *Deuteronomy* knew very well what Moses would have said had he been confronted with the evils of that time, and that the value of what he made him say rests not on its connection with the actual utterances of Moses but on its accordance with good reason and righteousness. When the king and the people obeyed the book, they obeyed what they recognized as the very will of God.

Thus we distinguish one of the source-materials out of which the Pentateuch was made. It is the whole, or a great part, of *Deuteronomy*. It was composed in the seventh century before Christ. Its letter in the Pentateuchal alphabet is *D*.

III

In the year 444 B. C., Ezra the scribe, coming from Babylon to Jerusalem, brought with him a book, which he read aloud in an assembly of the people. An account of this proceeding appears in the eighth chapter of *Nehemiah*.

And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the Water Gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the street that was before the

Water Gate from the morning until midday, before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law.

And they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month: and that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying:—"Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written." So the people went forth, and brought them, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the Water Gate, and in the street of the Gate of Ephraim. And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness. Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the manner.

1. These directions for the proper observance of the Feast of Booths are in *Leviticus*. "Ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." (23:40.) The chapter in which these words are found is in a part of *Leviticus* which has a distinct character of its own. The section begins with the seventeenth chapter which opens with the words, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto

all the children of Israel, and say unto them: This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded." It ends with the twenty-sixth chapter, which closes with the formula: "These are the statutes and judgments and laws which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses."

The continual emphasis of this section is upon the necessity of holiness, both ceremonial and moral. The word means separation. The idea is that the Jews are to be a people apart from their neighbors. They are to be different from them in their moral standards, and this difference is to be assisted by social and ecclesiastical customs; they are to have a series of feasts and fasts whose observance shall distinguish them from other people; and they are to make a distinction between what they may eat and what they may not eat, which shall prevent the easy interchange of hospitality: they are to have their own table. "I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people. Ye shall put therefore difference between clean beasts and unclean, and between unclean foods and clean. Ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine." (*Lev.* 20:25, 26.) This section is therefore called by scholars the Code of Holiness, and its letter in the Pentateuchal alphabet is *H*.

All codes are combinations of old laws and new, and there are enough old laws in the section to justify the ascription of it to Moses. It is the emphasis which is new. The drawing of lines of separation is common among all ancient peoples, and has not been outgrown

even by moderns, but it was particularly important for the Jews at the time of the exile. They were in danger of losing their distinctive existence. Already, under the conditions of a previous exile, their kinsmen of the ten northern tribes had been merged in the vast population of Assyria. It was a warning as to what might befall the southern tribes in Babylonia. The peril called for the erection of a stout barrier of holiness. This was provided by the Holiness Code.

2. This section of *Leviticus,* however, is only a part of a considerable book, and the book itself is a part of a great array of laws. They begin in *Exodus,* and continue into *Numbers.* The laws of *Leviticus* are distinctively ecclesiastical and ceremonial. They consist for the most part of canons and rubrics. They contain careful directions for the offering of sacrifices.

Such a manual might have been composed for convenience at any time, but it was made necessary by the condition of the exile. While the temple stood, and the sacrifices were offered by priests in regular succession, the directions might easily have been given by one to another, by word of mouth, as they were needed. But in 586 the temple was destroyed; suddenly and tragically the services ceased. The Jews confidently expected to return to their own land, and to rebuild the temple; but the years of exile lengthened. In the course of nature the older priests drew toward the end of their days. It was possible that their knowledge might perish with them. Under these circumstances the wise thing to do was to put it all in writing: all the rubrics, which instructed the priests in the order

of the services; all the canons, which regulated the religion and morals of the people.

Such a book would be as old as the immemorial past. It would describe customs which had prevailed in Israel from the days of Abraham, and other customs which were introduced at the time of the latest ritual enrichment. It might include customs which had never existed at all, but concerning which the compilers would say to themselves, "This is better than the former way, and we will so do it when we return." Thus Ezekiel, in the exile, made a canon-and-rubric book, which is contained in his last eight chapters, some of whose suggestions were not adopted. The Ezekiel Code (*Ezek.* 40-48) is curiously like the Holiness Code (*Lev.* 17-26).

Books of this kind are not dated. The *Book of Common Prayer,* for example, bears no mark of authorship. Scholars, by reason of their studies, are able to make notes in the margins, and to say of a certain prayer, "This was written while the barbarians were pounding at the gates of Rome;" and of another, "This was placed at this point because President Washington did not go to church in the afternoon;" and of a psalm, "This was set here by St. Benedict;" and of a collect, "This was composed a few years ago by Dr. Huntington, rector of Grace Church, New York." There is, indeed, a single date in the American Prayer-book, where it is stated that the book was set forth by the General Convention in 1789; but this is like the dating of the Pentateuch by the name of Moses. It connects the Prayer-book with a single

formal action, before which and since which many important parts of the book were written.

When, then, we say in general of the book of *Leviticus* that it was made during the exile, and read in Jerusalem after the exile, by Ezra, in the year 444, we are leaving a host of details undetermined. The book represents the stage of canonical and ritual development which the Jewish people had reached at that time. They had ceased to be a nation, and had begun to be a church. They had no kings or rulers of their own, being in subjection, but they had priests. Their chief interests were ecclesiastical. This appears plainly in *Leviticus*. It is a priest's book of the fifth century, and its letter in the Pentateuch alphabet is *P*.

3. But the book which Ezra read was evidently longer than the Holiness Code, and longer than the book of *Leviticus* which contains it, for the reading occupied seven days. He read "from the morning until midday. . . . Day by day, from the first day until the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days." The Priests' Code, however, is not limited by the arbitrary boundaries of *Leviticus*. It extends back into *Exodus* and forward into *Numbers*. And along with the Priests' Code is a series of Priestly Narratives.

As the laws in *Deuteronomy* are preceded by chapters of history (1-4) which go back to the departure from Sinai, so the laws in *Exodus, Leviticus* and *Numbers* are preceded by chapters of history (*Gen.* 1-*Ex.* 19) which go back to the creation of the world. But the account of the creation, as we saw, is in duplicate

and is only the first in a series of such duplications. A study of these variant passages reveals the fact that in many cases one narrative is concrete, vivid, and picturesque, like the story of the Garden of Eden, while the other narrative is formal, restrained, sometimes rather dry and repetitious, and connected, like the story of the Days of Creation, with the origin of some religious custom or institution. The formal narrative is in the manner of the Priests' Code, and is concerned with the same kind of things. To it belong genealogies which begin with Adam, with Noah, with Abraham, and indicate the stock of tribes and families. It contains an account of the origin of the custom of circumcision, and of the covenant which God made with Abraham and with Moses, and regulations for the observance of the feast of the Passover. The disentangling of this thread of narrative is as easy as the disentangling of the St. John strand from the Matthew, Mark and Luke strands in the *Diatessaron.* It was probably included in Ezra's book. It preserves the ancient traditions of the Hebrews concerning the origins of their institutions. This Priestly Narrative is added to the Priests' Code under the Pentateuchal letter *P.*

IV

There remains a considerable body of narrative in which are contained most of the familiar stories of the Pentateuch. It begins with the Garden of Eden, makes us acquainted, familiarly and intimately, with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, with Joseph, with

Moses, and carries us in company with the people of Israel to the eve of the conquest of Canaan. The narrative continues in the book of Joshua.

The fact that even after the subtraction of the Priestly Narrative duplications still occur, indicates that this remaining material is not one strand, but two. An illustration is the two accounts which are given to explain why Abraham's son was named Isaac, meaning "laughter." One account is in the seventeenth chapter of *Genesis.* The other is in the eighteenth chapter.

It is to be seen, even in our English translation, that the divine name in the first of these passages is God, or in Hebrew *Elohim;* and in the second is Lord, or in Hebrew *Jehovah.* It was found that this distinction holds in the other duplicates in *Genesis,* though it ceases after the account of the revelation of the name Jehovah in *Exodus* (4:14). It was found also that although all of this narrative, as distinguished from *P,* is informal, lively and full of conversation, the Elohim passages are more restrained in their description of the acts of God. Thus in the second passage, God comes walking by in the heat of the day, even as he walked in the cool of the day in Eden; he accepts the hospitality of Abraham, partaking of the butter and milk and meat, and the cakes which Sarah had baked; after the meal God says to Abraham, Where is your wife? and Sarah, listening behind the tent door, and hearing God promise that she shall bear a son, laughs derisively to hear it. In the first passage there is none of this friendly, but very informal, intercourse

with God. Then it was found that this difference appears again and again in connection with the divine names, and the Jehovah passages were indicated in the Pentateuchal alphabet by the letter *J*, and the Elohim passages by the letter *E*. It was noticed further that the *J* narrative shows a better acquaintance with the shrines of the southern kingdom, whose chief tribe was Judah, and that the *E* narrative shows a better acquaintance with the shrines of the northern kingdom, whose chief tribe was Ephraim. This made a more accurate distinction than the difference in the names of God. The two narratives were called "prophetic," because they seemed to be in the spirit of the preachers (prophets) rather than in the spirit of the priests.

It is not possible to date these Prophetic Narratives by any event so definite and dramatic as the discovery of *Deuteronomy* by Josiah in 621 or the reading of *Leviticus* and the Priestly Narrative by Ezra in 444. It is not likely that the Hebrews did much writing while they were slaves in Egypt, or while they were nomads in the wilderness. This manner of expression is not natural to slaves or nomads. Neither is it likely that much was written in the fierce days of the invasion and the conquest. Many of the songs, the laws and the stories which are contained in these narratives were already in existence, but they were in the memory of the people. They were sung around the camp-fires of Israel, and told by mothers to their children.

The reign of David, about the year 1000, brought the Hebrews at last into a state of prosperity and peace; and this opportunity for rest and reflection was

increased in the reign of Solomon. In the accounts of his time we find the names of "scribes," and of a "recorder" or chronicler. The chronicles of these reigns are so detailed and intimate that they seem to have been written by men who lived in that age. It is likely that we have here, in the books of *Samuel,* the oldest writing in the Bible. But the Prophetic Narratives, when they are compared with this writing, are found to be in the same literary manner. They use the same kind of words, and in the same way. They have such likenesses as are evident in the various books which were written in the Elizabethan or in the Victorian periods of English literature. The inference is that the writers of the Prophetic Narratives were gathering their ancient songs and stories and putting them in writing after the time of David. It may have been in the ninth century, or in the eighth. Somewhere in this indefinite time scholars put the date of Homer. The writers of the Prophetic Narratives were assembling the traditions of the Hebrews while he was assembling the traditions of the Greeks.

The resulting narratives, *J* and *E,* are alike in substance, because they are the records of a common tradition. They differ in detail, partly because one was made in the south, the other in the north of Palestine; and partly because the south and the north were divided, in 937, into independent and contending kingdoms. When the northern kingdom was conquered by the Assyrians, and Samaria, its capital, was destroyed, in 722, refugees would carry the *E* narrative with

them into the south. Thus the two would be combined to make *JE*.

The combined narrative consisted in part of history, and in part of law. It contained the oldest law-book of the Hebrew people—the Code of *Exodus* (20-23). Before this code the record places the Ten Commandments (*Ex.* 20:1-17), and again, after the code (*Ex.* 34:17-26) it recites the Ten Commandments, but in a different form. The first commandment in the second recital is, "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods;" other commandments concern the keeping of religious festivals, and the offering of sacrifices; the tenth commandment is, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." At the end of the list it says, "the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words, for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. . . . And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." It is another instance of duplication. According to one tradition the Moral Law, according to another the Ceremonial Law, had its origin in the conference of God with Moses on Mount Sinai. The code which is recorded between these decalogues contains both kinds of laws, but is concerned mainly with social morals.

Dating *J* and *E*, then, for convenience of memory, in the *ninth* century, *Deuteronomy* (*D*) would be added to the combined narratives in the *seventh* century (621), and *Leviticus* with accompanying history and law (*P*) in the *fifth* century (444). The editor

(or group of editors), who finally combined the four source-materials, as Tatian combined the four gospels, is called the redactor, and is represented in the Pentateuchal alphabet by the letter *R*. He took for a framework the Priestly Narrative, with its orderly succession of institutional origins, inserted into it sometimes *J* and sometimes *E*, where the various songs, laws and stories seemed to belong, and added *D*. Thus the four strands, *J*, *E*, *P* and *D*, were woven together to make the Pentateuch.

V

SONGS AND STORIES

I

ABOUT the year 1000, there appeared two collections of poems, one called the *Book of the Wars of the Lord,* the other called the *Book of Jasher,* or "the Upright." The date is reckoned from the fact that one of the poems in the *Book of Jasher* was the elegy which David made over Saul and Jonathan. (*II Sam.* 1:19-27.)

The oldest poem which is definitely quoted from these books is the *Song of the Well,* from the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (*Num.* 21:14). The Hebrews were marching through the wilderness to the invasion of Canaan. A fragment of verse recites certain stages of their journey:—

> Waheb in Sufah we passed,
> And the valleys of Arnon,
> And the slope of the valleys
> That stretches toward the dwelling of Ar,
> And leans on the border of Moab.

There they dug a well, apparently in an emergency of great thirst. The princes and the nobles digged. And having found water and refreshed themselves, they sang this song:—

Spring up, O well, sing ye back to her:
The well which the princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre and with their staves.

From the same book were probably taken the "taunt songs" which immediately follow, against Heshbon, the capital city of Sihon, king of the Amorites.

Come ye to Heshbon,
Let there be built and set up again the city of Sihon:

For fire had gone forth from Heshbon,
Flame from the city of Sihon:
It had devoured Ar of Moab,
And consumed the high places of Arnon.

Woe unto thee, Moab,
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh,
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
His daughters to captivity,
To the king of the Amorites, Sihon.

But we shot at them; Heshbon was undone unto Dibon,
And we laid waste unto Nophah which lies on the desert.

It is in a quotation from the *Book of Jasher* that Joshua makes his famous appeal to the sun and moon (*Jos.* 10:12, 13). Joshua was fighting against the Amorites at the battle of Bethhoron. As the day proceeded with victory, and the approach of evening threatened to stop the slaughter before it was effectively finished, the Hebrew captain lifted his hand to heaven, crying:—

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the people had avenged themselves upon
their enemies.

For in poetry all things are possible. A parallel passage is in the *One-hundred-and-fourteenth Psalm,* which says

When Israel went out of Egypt,
The house of Jacob from a people of strange
language,
The mountains skipped like rams,
And the little hills like young sheep.

David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, the latest quotation from the *Book of Jasher,* has for its occasion not a victory but a dire defeat. The note is sounded in the refrain with which the elegy begins and ends:—

How are the mighty fallen!

In these verses there is neither the hope of eventual victory, nor the comfort of religion. They have the immediacy of great grief, and belong to the very moment of disaster.

Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!
How are the mighty fallen!

Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

Ye mountains of Gilboa,
Let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you, nor fields of offerings:
For there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.
Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death they were not divided:
They were swifter than eagles;
They were stronger than lions.
Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights,
Who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel.

How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!

O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thine high places.
I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.

How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

The *Book of the Wars of the Lord* and the *Book of Jasher* are the only collections of poems which are quoted by name in the earlier books of the Bible. But these citations suffice to show that such anthologies were being made, and were being consulted by historians. Other poems either came from such collec-

tions, or were carried independently in the memory of the people.

A bit of verse in *Genesis* (4:23, 24) takes us back into the shadowy beginnings of civilization. "Lamech," we are told, "took unto him two wives: the name of one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah." And Lamech said unto his wives:—

> Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech;
> For I have slain a man to my wounding,
> And a young man to my hurt.
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

This is the voice of primitive man, in the jungle. Lamech, having been wounded in a fight, boasts to his wives that he has slain his enemy. "Whoever kills me," he cries, "out of his tribe shall seventy and seven men be killed in vengeance." These words, in the parallels of poets, set to some rude chant, made good singing for Hebrew soldiers by their camp-fires.

Longer poems, written down out of the national memory, are the *Song of Moses* (*Ex.* 15) and the *Song of Deborah* (*Jud.* 5).

The people of Israel had escaped from their long bondage in Egypt, and their Egyptian masters pursuing them had been drowned in the Red Sea. At least the refrain of the song may be contemporary with the event. Moses and the men sang:—

> I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

And Miriam, the sister of Moses, "took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances. And Miriam answered them":—

Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

The verses between the refrain and the response may have grown in number, and in variety of reference, in the singing of generations of minstrels.

I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.
The Lord is my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation:
He is my God, and I will praise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.
The Lord is a Man of war:
The Lord is his name
Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea:

His chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.
The depths have covered them:
They sank into the bottom as a stone.
Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power:
Thy right hand, O Lord, dasheth in pieces the enemy.
And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest them that rise up against thee:
Thou sendest forth thy wrath, it consumeth them as stubble.

And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were
gathered together;
The floods stood upright as an heap,
The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.
The enemy said,
"I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the
spoil;
My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy
them."
Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered
them:
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.

Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?
Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders?
Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.
Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which
thou hast redeemed:
Thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy
holy habitation.

The peoples heard, they trembled:
Fear hath taken hold on the inhabitants of
Philistia.
Then were dismayed the dukes of Edom;
The mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold
of them;
All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away;
Fear and dread falleth upon them;
By the greatness of Thine arm they are as still as
a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O Lord,
Till the people pass over which thou hast pur-
chased.
Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the
mountain of thine inheritance,
The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for
thee to dwell in,

The Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have
established.
The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

The *Song of Deborah* celebrates another great deliverance. The Israelites had come out of bondage in Egypt to fall into bondage in Canaan. The Canaanites had them in such subjection that all their armor had been taken from them, and they dared not venture out upon the highways. From this condition they were saved by the wisdom of Deborah and the courage of Barak. These verses which exult in the defeat of Sisera may have been sung by the women who greeted the returning heroes.

For that the leaders took the lead in Israel,
For that the people offered themselves willingly,
Bless ye the Lord.
Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes;
I, even I, will sing unto the Lord;
I will sing praise to the Lord, the God of Israel.

Lord, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped,
The clouds also dropped water.
The mountains quailed at the presence of the
Lord,
Even yon Sinai at the presence of the Lord, the
God of Israel.

In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied,
And the travellers walked through byways.
The villages were unoccupied in Israel, they were
unoccupied
Until that thou Deborah arose, thou arose a
mother in Israel.

They chose new gods;
Then was war in the gates:
Shield was not seen, nor spear
Among forty thousand in Israel.

My heart is toward the governors of Israel,
That offered themselves willingly among the people.
Bless ye the Lord.
Tell of it, ye that ride on white asses,
Ye that sit upon carpets,
Ye too that but walk by the way.
Far from the noise of archers, in the places of drawing water,
There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord,
The righteous acts of His governance in Israel.

Then came down to the gates the people of the Lord.
Awake, awake, Deborah;
Awake, awake, utter a song:
And lead thy captors captive, thou son of Abinoam.
Then came down a remnant against the mighty,
The people of the Lord came down for me against the strong.
From Ephraim came down they whose root is in Amalek;
After thee, Benjamin, among thy peoples;
Out of Machir came down governors,
And out of Zebulun they that handle the marshal's staff.
And my princes in Issachar were with Deborah;
As was Issachar, so was Barak.

By the watercourses of Reuben were there great searchings of heart.
Why satest thou among the sheepfolds?
To hear the bleatings of the flocks!

By the watercourses of Reuben were there great
searchings of heart.
Gilead abode on the other side of Jordan;
And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
Asher sat still at the shore of the sea,
And abode by his creeks.

Zebulun is a people that jeoparded his life unto the
death,
And Naphtali upon the high places of the field.
The kings came; they fought;
Then fought the kings of Canaan,
In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo;
Gain of money took they none!
They fought from heaven,
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.
The river Kishon swept them away,
That ancient river, the river Kishon.
March on, my soul, with might.
Then did the horsehoofs stamp,
By the pransings, the pransings of their strong
ones.
Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
Because they came not to the help of the Lord,
To the help of the Lord against the mighty.

Blessed above women be Jael,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Above women in the tent shall she be blessed.
Water did he ask, milk did she give;
She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
She put her hand to the nail,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
And with the hammer she smote Sisera,
She smote through his head,
And she pierced and struck through his temples.
At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay;
At her feet he bowed, he fell:
Where he bowed, there he fell down dead.

Through the window she gazed forth, and cried,
The mother of Sisera cried through the lattice:
Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?
Her wise ladies answered her,
Yea, she returned answer to herself,
Surely they have found, they have divided the spoil;
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
A spoil of divers colours for Sisera,
A spoil of divers colours of needlework,
Of divers colours two pieces of needlework for the neck of the queen.

So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord:
But let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.

Neither the minstrels who sang, nor the men of war who listened to their singing, were disturbed in conscience by Jael's vengeance upon Sisera. They would not have understood our discussion of the ethics of hospitality. The fact assists us to date the poem in the time which it describes. It breathes the fierceness of men who in the midst of battle have no other thought than the destruction of their adversaries.

A group of poems, the *Oracles of Balaam* (*Num.* 23, 24), and a collection of tribal songs woven together in the *Blessing of Jacob* (*Gen.* 49), are still in some measure hymns of hate, but their fierceness is mitigated by distance from the stricken field. They are in the spirit of those who having come through great strife are settled at last in the land which they have conquered.

Notice in passing that in the Pentateuchal alphabet

it is *J* in whose narrative the serpent speaks in Eden, and *J* again in whose story the ass speaks as she carries Balaam along the path of the vineyards. Of the two writers, *J* and *E,* it is *J* who makes these little sketches of talking beasts, and angels with flaming swords, in the margins of the sober history.

Balak, king of Moab, in dread of the impending invasion of the advancing Hebrews, has sent for a famous soothsayer, Balaam, to curse them. Balaam is to pronounce a malediction which shall take the strength from their arms, and the courage from their hearts, and shall deliver them into defeat. But this pagan seer is inspired of God. As Melchizedek, king of Salem, was a true priest of the Most High God (*Gen.* 14:18), so Balaam is a true prophet. The gift of inspiration overpasses the boundaries of religion. "God came unto Balaam," as he came to Confucius, to Zoroaster, to men of religion who had no place in either the Old Testament or the New. The consequence is that Balaam blesses the enemies of Balak instead of cursing them.

Of the five *Oracles of Balaam,* here are the third and fourth:—

iii

Balaam the son of Beor saith,
And the man whose eye was closed saith:
He saith, which heareth the words of God,
Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down, and having his eyes open:
How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy tabernacles, O Israel!
As valleys are they spread forth,

As gardens by the river's side,
As the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted,
As cedar trees beside the waters.
Water shall flow from his buckets,
And his seed shall be in many waters,
And his king shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted.
God brought him forth out of Egypt;
He hath as it were the swiftness of the wild ox;
He shall eat up the nations his enemies,
And their bones shall he break in pieces,
And pierce them through with his arrows.
He couched, he lay down as a lion,
And as a lioness: who shall stir him up?
Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And cursed be he that curseth thee.

iv

Balaam the son of Beor saith,
And the man whose eye was closed saith:
He saith, which heareth the words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High,
Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down, and having his eyes open:
I shall see him, but not now:
I shall behold him, but not nigh:
There shall come a star out of Jacob,
And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,
And shall smite through the temples of Moab,
And the skull of the sons of tumult.
And Edom shall be a possession,
Seir also shall be a possession, which were his enemies,
And Israel shall do valiantly.
Let him that shall have dominion come from Jacob,
And let him destroy the remnant from the city.

In the *Blessing of Jacob* (*Gen.* 49), and in a similar poem, the *Blessing of Moses* (*Deut.* 33), the tribes are settled in the Promised Land. In each of the poems the benediction of exceeding prosperity is given to the tribe of Joseph, whose sons Ephraim and Manasseh took possession of the middle and the north.

Thus in the *Blessing of Jacob*:—

Joseph is a fruitful bough,
A fruitful bough by a fountain;
His branches run over the wall:
The archers have sorely grieved him,
And shot at him, and persecuted him:
But his bow abode in strength,
And the arms of his hands were made strong
By the hands of the mighty God of Jacob;
(From thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel:)
Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee;
And by the Almighty, who shall bless thee
With blessings of heaven above,
Blessings of the deep that lieth under,
Blessings of the breasts, and of the womb.
The blessings of thy father
Have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills:
They shall be on the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of the head of him that is prince among his brethren.

And in the *Blessing of Moses*:—

Blessed of the Lord be his land,
For the precious things in heaven, for the dew,
And for the deep that coucheth beneath,
And for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun,

And for the precious things put forth by the moon,
And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
And for the precious things of the everlasting hills,
And for the precious things of the earth, and the fulness thereof,
And for the good will of him that dwelt in the bush:
Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of the head of the prince among his brethren.
The firstling of his bullock, majesty is his,
As the horns of the wild-ox are his horns;
With them shall he thrust the peoples all of them:
They are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
They are the thousands of Manasseh.

In these lines the strife of war is at a distance, and the people have entered into the satisfactions of peace. They have beaten their swords into plowshares. The *Blessing of Moses* ends with the high praise of God, who has given his people the good land.

There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,
Who rideth upon the heaven for thy help,
And in his excellency on the skies.
The eternal God is thy refuge,
And underneath are the everlasting arms:
And he thrust out the enemy from before thee;
And said, Destroy.
And so Israel dwelt in safety:
Secluded was Jacob's fount,
In a land of corn and wine;
Also his heavens dropped dew.
Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee,
A people saved by the Lord,
The shield of thy help,
And the sword of thy excellency!
And thy foes shall fawn upon thee;
And thou—on their high places shalt thou tread.

A second *Song of Moses* (*Deut.* 32) deals with the long war which followed the conquest of Canaan. For it came to pass, as in other cases where the men of the woods or of the wilderness defeated the men of the cities, that the defeated people profoundly affected the lives of their conquerors. The Hebrews were tempted away from the austerity and simplicity of the desert by the customs of the more civilized people whose lands they had taken. They felt the fascination of the new shrines, the new rites, and the new gods. Thus began a spiritual combat which continued for generations, in which the prophets were the captains of the Lord. The *Song* is in the spirit of the prophets.

Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak;
And hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.
My doctrine shall drop as the rain,
My speech shall distil as the dew,
As the small rain upon the tender herb,
And as the showers upon the grass:
Because I will publish the name of the Lord:
Ascribe ye greatness unto our God.
He is the Rock, his work is perfect:
For all his ways are judgment:
A God of truth and without iniquity,
Just and right is he.

They have dealt corruptly with him, not his
sons are they but their own shame:
A perverse and crooked generation.
Do ye thus requite the Lord,
O foolish people and unwise?
Is not he thy father that hath bought thee?
He hath made thee, and established thee.
Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations:

Ask thy father, and he will shew thee;
Thine elders, and they will tell thee.
When the Highest gave nations their heritage,
When he sundered the children of men,
He set the borders of the peoples
By the number of the children of Israel.
For the Lord's portion is his people;
Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
He found him in a desert land,
And in the waste howling wilderness;
He compassed him about, he cared for him,
He kept him as the apple of his eye.
As an eagle stirreth up his nest,
Fluttereth over his young,
Spreadeth abroad his wings,
Taketh them,
Beareth them on his pinions;
So the Lord alone did lead him,
And there was no strange god with him.
He made him to ride on the high places of the earth,
And to eat the increase of the fields;
And he made him to suck honey out of the cliff,
And oil out of the flinty rock;
Butter of kine, and milk of sheep,
With lambs' fat, and rams,
Breed of Bashan, and he goats,
With fat of the kidneys of wheat;
And the blood of the grape thou drankest in foam.

But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked:
Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art become sleek;
Then he forsook God which made him,
And lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.
They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods,
With abominations provoked they him to anger.
They sacrificed to demons, which were no gods;

To gods whom they knew not,
To new gods that came up of late
Whom your fathers feared not.
Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful,
And hast forgotten God that gave thee birth.
And when the Lord saw it, he abhorred them,
Because of the provocation of his sons and of his daughters.
And he said, I will hide my face from them,
I will see what their end shall be;
For they are a very froward generation,
Children in whom is no faith.

So the *Song* proceeds in terms of strong condemnation.

II

The memory of the people in the time of David and Solomon, about the year 1000, was thus filled with the verses of songs and poems which were even then ancient. And also with the memory of ancient stories.

Some of these stories are so old that they antedate the time when Abraham set out to go from the land of the Euphrates to find a dwelling in the land of the Jordan. He brought these tales with him. Such, for example, is the story of the Flood.

Excavation of the ruins of Babylon has brought to light the library of King Asshurbanipal. Among his books—which were made of thick sheets of clay, and so have outlasted the weather of centuries—was found the long *Epic of Gilgamesh,* and in the eleventh canto of this poem was found the story of the Flood as it was told at a time which scholars reckon to have been about the year 2000.

The Noah of this story is told to build a ship for the saving of his life, and to cause all kinds of living things to go into it. "Let its form be long, and its breadth equal to its length. On the great deep launch it." This he does, and makes it tight with pitch and bitumen. Then comes a fearful tempest which terrifies even the gods, who "cowered like dogs at the edge of the heavens." The tempest continues, with "wind and flood and storm," for six days. When on the seventh day the rain abates, the sea is calm, the tempestuous wind is still, and the flood ceases, "I looked for the race of mortals," says the hero, "but every voice was hushed, and all mankind had been turned to clay. After twenty-four hours an island rose up, the ship approached the mountain Nisir. When the seventh day arrived, I sent forth a dove and let it loose. The dove went forth, but came back; because it found no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a swallow, but it came back; because it found no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a raven and let it loose. The raven went forth and saw that the waters had decreased; it fed, it waded, it croaked, and did not return. Then I sent forth everything in all directions, and offered a sacrifice." The gods came to the sacrifice, inhaling the sweet odor; and the god who had caused the flood seized the hands of the hero and his wife, and made them kneel before him, and declared that now this man and his wife shall be gods like us. "Then they took me, and made me dwell in the distance, at the confluences of the streams."

Into this story, told and retold, generation after

generation, through many centuries, the Hebrews brought their better knowledge of God. The gods disappear, and their place is taken by the Lord of all the earth. The cause of the flood is not a divine caprice, but a divine purpose to make a better race of men by beginning over again with a new Adam and Eve on Mt. Ararat. After the flood, the bow in the cloud is made a sign of the divine patience.

The value of most of these stories, however, is not in their great age, nor in any moral which they teach, but consists altogether in their simple human interest. If any of them represent, as some say, the migrations and relationships of tribes and families, only the most diligent scholars shall ever find it out. Nor is their interest obscured by the fact that their scenes are laid in Asia. The men and women of these stories are of our own kind and kin, and the tales that are told about them are true to human nature as we know it. Moreover, the manner of the telling has the perfection which is gained only by the process of centuries of repetition.

The longest of the stories deals with the *Adventures of Joseph,* who being sold by his brethren as a slave becomes the governor of all the land of Egypt. The most charming of them is the pleasant and peaceful tale of the *Wooing of Rebekah.* It comes in among the songs of war, and the accounts of battles, like the shining of a clear day in the midst of a season of tempestuous weather.

VI

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN

THE narratives of *Joshua* and *Judges* have all the picturesque qualities of the narratives of the Pentateuch: for they belong to the same period, and are the result of the same process. They were shaped not by literary composition but by popular recitation. They were told for centuries before they were written.

If these books were printed like other books, one of the differences between these histories and other histories would be evident to every reader. History is commonly written in solid paragraphs, but these pages, if they were normally printed, would show the brief and lively paragraphing which is used in accounts of conversation. The numbered verses disguise the fact that the people of the Pentateuch, and of *Joshua* and *Judges,* are always talking. An unfailing human interest is imparted to these narratives by the fact that these men and women speak for themselves.

It is plain that such conversation has no basis in contemporary records. Nobody took down these words. Neither Abraham nor Isaac recorded what they said, the one to the other, on their way to the mountain of the sacrifice. Neither Moses nor Joshua recorded what they said as they came down from Sinai and heard shouting and singing in the camp. The nar-

rator knew that they said something: they did not walk in silence. He asked himself what they probably said under such circumstances, and he found an answer in his imagination. His purpose was to make the situation real to his hearers or his readers, and this he did in the most natural way by dramatizing it. This is a liberty into which the modern historian will not venture, but the ancient historian had no such scruple. Accordingly, the history of the Hebrews in *Genesis* and *Exodus,* in *Joshua* and *Judges,* differs from the history of the Romans in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* as the *Henry the Eighth* of Shakespeare differs from the *Henry the Eighth* of Froude. It is one of the reasons why the Bible history has kept its interest through all these hundred of years.

The narratives of *Joshua* and *Judges* which agree with the narratives of the Pentateuch in dramatic form, differ from them in being made to serve a moral purpose. The story of the *Wooing of Rebekah* has no moral. It is simply a delightful tale of a faithful servant and a charming maiden. But the story of the *Siege of Ai* (*Jos.* 8) includes an explanation of the moral reasons on account of which the Hebrews were defeated. The army of Joshua had attacked Ai and been repulsed.

And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord until the eventide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads. And Joshua said:—"Alas, O Lord God, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us? would to God we had been content, and dwelt on the other side

Jordan! O Lord, what shall I say, when Israel turneth their backs before their enemies! For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do unto thy great name?" And the Lord said unto Joshua:—"Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face? Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: for they have even taken of the devoted thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff. Therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they are become devoted: neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the devoted thing from among you. Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for thus saith the Lord God of Israel, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the devoted thing from among you. In the morning therefore ye shall be brought according to your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe which the Lord taketh shall come according to the families thereof; and the family which the Lord shall take shall come by households; and the household which the Lord shall take shall come man by man. And it shall be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath: because he hath transgressed the covenant of the Lord, and because he hath wrought folly in Israel."

So they made an investigation and found that Achan had stolen from the spoils of Jericho a wedge of gold, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a goodly Babylonish garment. Him they stoned to death, together with his sons and daughters, and burned them with fire. The cause of defeat being thus removed, they went on to victory.

This moralizing of the narrative appears again and

again in *Judges*. The book is made to illustrate a proposition which is stated repeatedly. This proposition is set forth in its simplest form in the account of the deliverance at the hand of Othniel (*Jud.* 3:1-11).

> And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and forgat the Lord their God, and served the Baalim and the Asherim. Therefore the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years. And when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war: and the Lord delivered Chushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia into his hand; and his hand prevailed against Chushan-rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years.

The same sequence introduces the exploits of Gideon. The people forsake the Lord and do evil; therefore the Lord gives them over to the oppression of enemies; at last they cry to the Lord for help; and the Lord sends a savior.

This idea that if the people sin they shall be defeated, and if they repent they shall be delivered, is characteristic of *Deuteronomy*. It was profoundly impressed by that book upon the mind of Israel.

The problem of pain has occupied the thoughts of men from time immemorial. Why do we suffer? Why is life so hard? Why do our foes have the upper hand? Even so early as the story of the Garden of Eden an answer was given to these questions in terms of sin. We suffer because we disobey. God forsakes us be-

cause we have forsaken him. In the book of *Deuteronomy* this interpretation of life received its supreme statement.

And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth: and all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God.

Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out.

The Lord shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways.

But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee:

Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me.

And so on, curse after curse.

When we come from the ancient stories of the Pen-

tateuch to the ancient stories of *Joshua* and *Judges* —all of them old by the year 1000—and find that in these two books the stories are not only told but moralized, the inference is that *Joshua* and *Judges* in their present form followed the publication of *Deuteronomy*. They reveal the Deuteronomic influence. The fact that two stories, which make an appendix to *Judges,*—the *Migration of Dan* and the *Punishment of Benjamin,*—are not moralized like the others, but are outside of the Deuteronomic framework, suggests that there was an earlier and larger collection of tales of adventure out of which were at first selected only such as illustrated the Deuteronomic moral. It seemed then that the best thing to do with the escapades of Dan and Benjamin was to forget them. Afterward, they were added to the book, being too interesting to be left out.

The most important inference, however, from the Deuteronomic element in these books has regard not to their date but to their general purpose. They had a moral purpose. It is significant that in the Hebrew Bible the historians are called prophets, *i. e.* preachers. The prophetical books in the order of that collection include not only the writings of Isaiah and the others whom we call prophets, but also the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. These are entitled "the former prophets." It means that these historians were primarily teachers of religion. Their purpose was not so much to inform as to improve their readers.

The modern historian is in search of facts. He would find out, and tell us, exactly what happened,

and why and how it happened. If in the progress of his researches he comes upon two reliable sources one of which states the matter in one way, and the other in a different way, he can not rest content until he has determined which is right and which is wrong. This is because he is primarily an historian. He may have political prejudices; his history may be written as an argument to prove a proposition; even so, the presence of conflicting statements distresses him like a pain. He is irresistibly impelled to decide the conflict by some sort of solution.

That the men who wrote the historical books of the Old Testament were not of this mind is made evident by the fact of duplication. We find them setting down side by side different accounts of the same event, between which we are left to make our own choice. The difference does not disturb them, because they are interested not so much in the facts as in the truths which are at the heart of the facts. The modern historian is like the draughtsman who draws the plans of a cathedral. The ancient historian was like the artist who makes a picture of a cathedral. The artist is not greatly concerned about the details; what he would reproduce is an impression. He would represent the antiquity, the solemnity, the sense of reverence and worship, which the building embodies. If the draughtsman should criticize the picture, pointing out a defect in the curve of an arch or a disproportion in the shape of a turret, the artist might well reply that his work was not intended for the guidance of masons or carpenters, but for lovers of beauty or of religion.

The Old Testament historian was tolerant of duplication and difference in his narrative not only by reason of his purpose, but by reason of his method. This was quite unlike the procedure of the writer of history to-day. The modern historian having studied the period with which he intends to deal, having patiently and carefully read whatever was written about it by those who lived in it, and having thus acquired not only a knowledge of its facts but an understanding of its spirit, sets down what he has learned, in his own words. The Old Testament historian was a collector of documents. He gathered what he could of the records of old time, and made his history by piecing them together. Songs, stories, codes of law, court annals, genealogies, biographies,—everything was welcome to him which threw light on the past of his people, and revealed the will of God. Whatever seemed to him to serve either of these two purposes he put in, but he was especially desirous to make plain the will of God. If this appeared in two disagreeing documents, their disagreement did not deter him from including them both. He was not engaged in writing history, as we understand it, but in making what we call a "source-book" of history, with special reference to religion.

Thus, finding two accounts of the Conquest of Canaan differing the one from the other, but both of them excellently illustrative of the providence of God, he brought them both into his book.

One account is contained in the first half of *Joshua.* It describes an invasion of Palestine by an army composed of the united tribes of Israel, under one com-

mander. Together the tribes crossed the Jordan, together they took Jericho and Ai, and together they met the kings of the country in two great battles.

First, they fought with the kings of the south led by Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem. The battle took place at the pass of Beth-horon, and the invaders were decisively successful. They pursued after their retreating enemies, and smote the hindmost of them, and suffered them not to enter into their cities, for the Lord God had delivered them into their hands. (*Jos.* 10:19.) Adoni-zedek, with his four allies, they found hid in a cave, and brought them out and hanged them. So they swept on victoriously over "all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs," taking city after city. The formula of their operations is repeated again and again: "They took (the city) and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein he utterly destroyed." Joshua "left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded."

Then they fought with the kings of the north led by Jabin king of Hazor. The battle took place by the waters of Merom where the northern kings had assembled their hosts, "even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many." "And Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly, and they fell upon them, and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, and they smote them until they left them none remaining." And again the

conquerors swept forward over the cities of the north. "Every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any to breathe." (*Jos.* 11:14.)

After this complete destruction, the country being cleared of its original inhabitants by these two fierce campaigns, Joshua divided it among the tribes. "Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war."

But the first chapter of *Judges* contains another and quite different account. The sentence with which it begins—"Now after the death of Joshua it came to pass"—seems to place the chapter after the initial conquest, but the fact that Joshua does not actually die until the middle of the second chapter (2:8) seems to indicate that this sentence is an editorial addition. At the close of the book of Joshua it says:—"So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance. And it came to pass after these things that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died, being an hundred and ten years old; and they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah which is in the mount of Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash." In the middle of the second chapter of the book of *Judges* it says:—"And when Joshua had let the people go, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died, being an hundred and ten years old; and they buried him in

the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, in the mount of Ephraim, on the north side of the hill Gaash." The repetition seems to join the two books at this point. That which comes between, in the first chapter of *Judges* and a part of the second, is a fragment of ancient history which the historian, according to his method, inserted here because he found it among his sources.

On examination, this account is seen to be not subsequent to the description of the conquest in *Joshua* but parallel with it. It is another, and different, record of the invasion of Palestine. In this account the tribes went up not as a united army but individually or in groups.

The kings of the south were attacked by Judah and Simeon, and perhaps by Benjamin. Judah took the king of Jerusalem, whose name in the narrative is Adoni-bezek, and instead of hanging him cut off his thumbs and great toes. They captured Jerusalem, and smote the people with the edge of the sword (*Jud.* 1:8). We are presently informed, however (*Jud.* 1:21), that the invaders, now specified as the tribe of Benjamin, did not drive out the inhabitants of that city. Indeed, we know from the subsequent history that the Hebrews did not become masters of Jerusalem until that stronghold was taken by Joab for King David (*II Sam.* 5:6, 7). The conquest of the south, according to this narrative was far from complete. "Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the mountain, and in the south, and in the valley,"—the country of "the hills, and of the south,

and of the vale and of the springs" which the united tribes, in the book of *Joshua,* had so completely subjugated,—"and the Lord was with Judah, and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." (*Jud.* 1:19.)

The same imperfect success attended the fortunes of the tribes who invaded the north. "Neither did Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean and her towns," nor Taanach and her towns, nor Megiddo and her towns, "but the Canaanite would dwell in that land." The book of *Judges* presently informs us that the Canaanites dwelt so persistently and successfully in that land, and made such effective use of the nine hundred chariots of iron which they had that they disarmed the Israelites, leaving them neither shield nor spear (*Jud.* 5:8) and mightily oppressed them. "Neither did Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer." "Neither did Zebulon drive out the inhabitants of Kitron." And so on, tribe after tribe, some of them conquered rather than conquering, some making alliances with the people of the land, and all of them represented as living in a populated country. The situation is quite different from that which is indicated by the victorious progress of Joshua's army.

These two varying accounts leave us in doubt as to the conditions under which the conquest of Canaan was accomplished. At the same time they remind us that to the historian the resolution of such doubts was of no great concern. That was not his business. The victorious campaign of Joshua illustrated the blessings

of success which come to those who obey the will of God. The defeats which attended the efforts of the tribes to establish themselves in their inheritance illustrated the failure by which those who make compromises are punished. True, there were chariots of iron on the other side, but the moral of the situation in general was declared by an angel of the Lord, who said:—

"I made you to go up out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you. And ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down their altars: but ye have not obeyed my voice: why have ye done this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you." And it came to pass, when the angel of the Lord spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice and wept.

The purpose of the historian was to enforce this moral. He was not interested in deciding whether the conqueror of Jabin king of Hazor was Joshua (*Jos.* 11) or Barak (*Jud.* 4). No details of geography or of chronology were to be compared in value for him with the great word, "So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might" (*Jud.* 5:31). He did not care whether the tribes took the Promised Land together or separately. One tradition was as good as the other. Whatever their initial successes, they had to fight for their possessions, and the country was the more precious to them for the hardships which they

had endured to gain it. And all their defeats and all their victories were proportioned to their loyalty to God.

Most of the stories of the book of *Judges* teach this lesson. The people, now in this part of the country, now in that, fall into misfortune. They cry for help to God whom they had forgotten. He raises from among them a hero who in God's name delivers them. These heroes bear no resemblance to the officers whom we call judges; they have no connection with courts of law. The name is a misleading one. The "judges" of this book were like the men whom the Romans called dictators, who were called from private life to lead the army in a desperate crisis. Such a man was Ehud, who in defense of the tribe of Benjamin killed the king of Moab; and Barak, who being summoned by Deborah, assembled the northern tribes to the battle of Mount Zabor; and Gideon who fought the Midianites; and Jephthah who led the trans-Jordanic tribes against the Ammonites; and Samson, who plagued the Philistimes. The book of *Judges* is filled with the tales of their adventures. By these men the conquest of Canaan was completed.

VII

THE TWO HISTORIES

THE two books of *Samuel* are one book, divided in the middle for convenience. In ancient times books were written on long strips of papyrus. These were rolled on sticks. When the strip could not all be rolled around one stick without making it too bulky for easy handling and reading, it was cut and the remainder was made into another roll. The word "volume," which means a roll, is derived from this arrangement. Thus *Samuel* was made into two rolls, or volumes. The same was done with the two books of *Kings,* where the division comes in the midst of the account of the reign of Ahaziah. In the *Septuagint* these four books,—*I* and *II Samuel* and *I* and *II Kings,*—appear as the four volumes in one history.

The two books of *Chronicles* were divided, like *Samuel* and *Kings,* for convenience in reading. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah,* which follow them, appear in the Hebrew Bible as one book. The repetition of the last two verses of *II Chronicles* to make the first two verses of *Ezra* joins these books together. The four books,—*I* and *II Chronicles, Ezra* and *Nehemiah,*—are four volumes of one history.

After nine chapters of genealogical tables, and a tenth which records the defeat and death of Saul, the second history begins with the taking of Jerusalem by David. He made the place his capital, and "built the city round about." This event appears in the fifth chapter of *II Samuel.* Starting thus together at the building of Jerusalem, the two histories proceed side by side till the first history ends with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in 586; the second history includes the restoration of Jerusalem under Artaxerxes, king of Persia, in 445.

These cardinal dates do not definitely determine when these two histories were written. In the days when books were multiplied by the process of writing them out with pen and ink, the copyists sometimes served as editors also, and made notes in the margin or in the text according to their later knowledge. It is the opinion of good scholars that the chapters which describe the fall of Jerusalem were added to the first history, which would thus be dated about 600. It is also the opinion of good scholars that the second history, which includes the name of Jaddua, who was high priest when Alexander invaded Palestine and took Jerusalem in 332, and which often speaks of Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes as kings "of Persia," as if the Persian rule had long since given place to that of the Greeks, is thereby dated about 300, or later. The reckoning is important in that it separates the time of writing of the second history from the time of writing of the first by a space of three centuries.

I

The two histories are singularly alike. In chapter after chapter, the second repeats the first, word for word. Thus at the place where the parallel begins, the first history reads:—

Then came all the tribes of Israel to David unto Hebron, and spake, saying:—"Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. Also in time past, when Saul was king over us, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the Lord said to thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be a captain over Israel." So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and king David made a league with them in Hebron before the Lord: and they anointed David king over Israel.

David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years. In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over all Israel and Judah. And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying:—"Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither;" thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David. And David said on that day:—"Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him get up to the watercourse, and as for the lame and the blind that are hated of David's soul——" Wherefore they said:—"The blind and the lame shall not come into the house." So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward. And David went on, and grew great, and the Lord God of hosts was with him. (*II Sam.* 5:3-10.)

The second history reads:—

Then all Israel gathered themselves to David unto Hebron, saying:—"Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. And moreover in time past, even when Saul was king, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the Lord thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel." Therefore came all the elders of Israel to the king to Hebron; and David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the Lord; and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the word of the Lord by Samuel.

And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus; where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David:—"Thou shalt not come hither." Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David. And David said:—"Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain." So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up, and was chief. And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David. And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about: and Joab repaired the rest of the city. So David waxed greater and greater: for the Lord of hosts was with him. (*I Chron.* 11:3-9.)

Here the second history inserts a list of David's mighty men, with an account of their chief exploits, but this is taken from the first history later on, where it occurs in an appendix to *II Samuel* (23:8f). A following chapter adds new names and adventures of David's heroes, and gives the numbers of the fighting men who assembled to make David king,—more than three hundred thousand. The first history (*II Sam.* 6:1) had known of only thirty thousand. The second history then follows the first again, giving an account of the

tragedy of Uzza, who put out his hand to keep the ark from falling, recounting David's dealings with Hiram, king of Tyre, giving the names of David's children, and describing a decisive victory gained by David over the Philistines,—the words the same, but the order a little changed. Then says the first history:—

And it was told king David, saying:—"The Lord hath blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that pertaineth unto him, because of the ark of God." So David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with gladness. And it was so, that when they that bare the ark of the Lord had gone six paces, he sacrificed an ox and a fatling. And David danced before the Lord with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod. So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet.

But this the second history enlarges, with names of priests and singers:—

And David made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent. Then David said:—"None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites: for them hath the Lord chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever." And David gathered all Israel together to Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the Lord unto its place, which he had prepared for it. And David assembled the children of Aaron, and the Levites: of the sons of Kohath; Uriel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twenty: of the sons of Merari; Asaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred and twenty: of the sons of Gershom; Joel the chief, and his brethren an hundred and thirty: of the sons of Elizaphan; Shemaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred: of the sons of Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore: of the sons of Uzziel; Ammina-

dab the chief, and his brethren an hundred and twelve. And David called for Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the Levites, for Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and Amminadab, and said unto them:— "Ye are the chief of the fathers of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both ye and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the Lord God of Israel unto the place that I have prepared for it. For because ye did it not at the first, the Lord our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after the due order."

So the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark of the Lord God of Israel. And the children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with the staves thereon, as Moses commanded according to the word of the Lord. And David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren to be the singers with instruments of music, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding, by lifting up the voice with joy. So the Levites appointed Heman the son of Joel; and of his brethren, Asaph the son of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari their brethren, Ethan the son of Kushaiah; and with them their brethren of the second degree, Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, the porters. So the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, were appointed to sound with cymbals of brass; and Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries set to "Alamoth"; and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps set to the "Sheminith" to lead. And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was for song: he instructed about the song, because he was skilful. And Berechiah and Elkanah were doorkeepers for the ark. And Shebaniah, and Jehoshaphat, and Nethaneel, and Amasai, and Zechariah, and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the trumpets before the ark of God: and Obed-edom and Jehiah were doorkeepers for the ark.

So David, and the elders of Israel, and the captains over thousands, went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the house of Obed-edom with joy. And it came to pass, when God helped the Levites that bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, that they offered seven bullocks and seven rams. And David was clothed with a robe of fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of the song with the singers: David also had upon him an ephod of linen. Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord with shouting, and with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, making a noise with psalteries and harps.

Another addition which the second history makes to the narrative of the first also consists in great part of the names of priests and singers, with an account of the glories of the temple in which they were appointed to serve. This addition occupies eight chapters of *I Chronicles* (22-29), and has no parallel in *Kings*. It contains the statement that David prepared for the erection of the temple by setting apart for that purpose a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver (*I Chron.* 22:14). The first history had estimated the annual revenue even of Solomon at less than a thousand talents of gold (*I Kings* 10:14, 15). Even so, according to the humbler standards of that earlier time, he "exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches."

These additions represent the author of the second history as a man for whom numbers were symbols rather than statistics. He dealt with figures not as a treasurer, whose business it is to make accurate accounts, but as a writer who desired to say, in the midst

of the subjection and poverty of his people, that there had been a time when they were as great and as rich as any nation of the earth. The additions suggest also that the chronicler, if not himself a priest or a singer in the temple choir, was at least much interested in ecclesiastical music, and in the ceremonies of religion.

II

A comparison of the second history with the first reveals not only additions but omissions.

1. Everything is omitted which would bring discredit upon the good name of King David. The chronicler is diligently copying the earlier history (compare *I Chron.* 19 with *II Sam.* 10). "And it came to pass," he says, following word for word, "that after that year was expired, at the time that kings go forth to battle, Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem." There he suddenly stopped. He made no copy of *II Samuel* 11, nor of the greater part of 12, for these chapters contain the disgraceful story of David's adultery with Bathsheba, and of his murder of Uriah, her husband. He began copying again at *II Samuel* 12:26. "And Joab smote Rabbah and destroyed it. And David took the crown of their king from off his head." And so on. A similar omission leaves out the whole story of the rebellion of Absalom. One may read the *Chronicles* without discovering that any son of that name ever belonged to the family of

David. David appears in this history as a king without reproach, and without defeat. There is no mention of the war with the house of Saul by which he seized the throne, nor of the conspiracy of his son Adonijah to take the throne away from him in his old age. The chronicler's picture of David is like a photograph retouched, with all the lines smoothed out. It is one of the few exceptions to the frankness of the writers of the Bible in their dealing with the sins of the saints.

2. Another notable omission removes from the second history the annals of the Northern Kingdom.

Chronicles follows *Kings* through the days of David and Solomon. The two histories agree, for the most part, in their descriptions of that era of prosperity and splendor. They agree in praising the wisdom of Solomon. The writer of the second history, however, draws his copying pencil through the account in the first history of Solomon's folly. He omits the statement that Solomon had a multitude of foreign and heathen wives, and that he "went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites," and that he built "an high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem," and to these strange gods, before their idols, burnt incense and offered sacrifices. The chronicler magnifies the greatness of Solomon as a builder not only of the temple but of many cities, but adds that "of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work; but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen" (*II Chron.* 8:9).

The statement is taken from *Kings* (*I Kings* 9:22), and the idea in both histories is that the heavy service of forced labor was put upon the conquered tribes whom the Israelites had dispossessed. It appears, however, in *Kings* (*I Kings* 5:13) that there was a burden of compulsory service on the children of Israel also. "King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty thousand men. And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses; a month they were in Lebanon and two months at home: and Adoniram was over the levy. And Solomon had threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains." It may be that the lot of the Israelites differed from that of the Canaanites in that their bondage was temporary rather than permanent. It was so severe, however, and Solomon was so stern a taskmaster, that when he died and Rehoboam his son followed him, the people demanded better treatment. Lebanon being in the north, it was from the northern tribes that the hewers in the mountains chiefly came, and it was among them that Ahijah appeared as the prophet, and Jeroboam as the leader, of a popular protest which became a revolution. Each of the histories describes the conference between the young king and the people.

And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to Shechem to make him king. And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was yet in Egypt, heard of it, (for he was fled from the presence of king Solomon, and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt;) that they sent and called him. And Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came, and spake unto Rehoboam,

saying:—"Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee." And he said unto them:—"Depart yet for three days, then come again to me." And the people departed.

And king Rehoboam consulted with the old men, that stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, and said:—"How do ye advise that I may answer this people?" And they spake unto him, saying:—"If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever." But he forsook the counsel of the old men, which they had given him, and consulted with the young men that were grown up with him, and which stood before him: and he said unto them:—"What counsel give ye that we may answer this people, who have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke which thy father did put upon us lighter?" And the young men that were grown up with him spake unto him, saying:—"Thus shalt thou speak unto this people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the third day, as the king had appointed, saying:—"Come to me again the third day." And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the old men's counsel that they gave him; and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying:—"My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke: my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." Wherefore the king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying, which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat. So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the

people answered the king, saying:—"What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David." So Israel departed unto their tents. But as for the children of Israel which dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them. Then king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the tribute [called Adoniram in the account of the forced labor, the "tribute," of the Israelites]; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. Therefore king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day. And it came to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was come again, that they sent and called him unto the congregation, and made him king over all Israel: there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only.

The writers of the two histories belonged alike to the tribe of Judah, and wrote from that point of view, but to the mind of the chronicler this declaration of independence was not only a revolution but a schism. As a matter of fact, it was a righteous rebellion against a heartless and intolerable tyranny. It was followed, however, by a most unfortunate consequence, political and ecclesiastical. Politically, it not only divided the Hebrew kingdom but it set the two divisions at variance one with the other. The northern tribes led by Ephraim and the southern tribes led by Judah had never agreed well together; now they were enemies. Thenceforward Hebrews fought against Hebrews. Ecclesiastically, the northern tribes set up shrines for themselves and came no more to the temple at Jerusalem. Even to the writer of the first history, living after the acceptance of the Deuteronomic doctrine that it

was wrong to offer sacrifice in any other place, this was a separation from the true church. To the writer of the second history it was an act so hateful to God and all good men that the northern kingdom ought to be cast out of remembrance. So far as he was able he cast it out. He gave it no place in his records. Even the great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, he consigned to silence and oblivion. From his point of view as a good churchman, they were no better than dissenting ministers.

These omissions enable us to distinguish the two histories by giving them different names. We may entitle the first *A History of the Hebrews from the Establishment of the Monarchy to the Fall of Jerusalem,* and the second, *A History of the Kingdom of Judah from the Accession of Saul to the Rebuilding of Jerusalem.*

III

The two histories agree with each other and with the preceding historical books in the method of their composition. They were made by copying earlier records and piecing them together. In the second series we see the historian actually at work. He has before him our books of *Samuel* and *Kings;* he has also the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,* to which he frequently refers (*II* 16:11; 25, 26; 27:7, and other places); he has "the words" of various prophets—Samuel, Nathan, Isaiah and others—(*I* 29:29, *II* 32:32, and other places). Judging by his treatment of

Samuel and *Kings,* he uses these sources with a good deal of freedom. He adds and subtracts, as we have seen; he changes the order of events; he quotes for the most part the exact words of his authority, but not always; he occasionally adds moralizing explanations of his own. Thus the gout which affected good King Asa in his old age is attributed by the chronicler to an alliance with the pagan king of Syria; and the leprosy by which King Uzziah was smitten was the result of his presumption in burning incense on the altar, which was permitted only to the priests. Later, he puts two books together, the *Memoirs of Nehemiah* and the *Memoirs of Ezra.*

The compiler of the first series of histories also refers to the sources from which he gets his information. He had before him the *Book of the Acts of Solomon* (*I Kings* 11:41), the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* (*I Kings* 14:19, and many other places); and the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah* (*I Kings* 14:29, and again often). These were contemporary records kept by the court officials (*II Sam.* 8:16; *I Kings* 4:3; *II Kings* 18:18-37), or comprehensive histories made from such records.

This historical method, according to which the historian, instead of studying the sources and on the basis of his study writing a history in his own words, gives us the actual sources which he used with little change or even comment, takes us back beyond not only the second series but the first into the very times when these things happened.

IV

The history which is thus recorded falls naturally into three eras.

1. The first era begins with the establishment of the monarchy, in the century of Samuel and Saul, of David and Solomon. The initial approximate date is the easily remembered year 1000.

This era includes the division of the Hebrew empire into the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel (Ephraim) and Judah, and the fortunes of each kingdom as far as the long reign of Jeroboam II in the north and of Uzziah, his contemporary, in the south. The principal literary activity of this time was that of the historians, who were putting into writing such parts of *Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua* and *Judges* as had been preserved in the memory of the people, and were also recording the events of their own day.

In this era, after the division, the most dramatic events were in the north.

The historian, who presently dismisses in a few words the reign of Jeroboam II, a king whose prosperity and power almost equaled the glories of Solomon, deals at length with the ministry of Elijah. King Ahab has married Jezebel, daughter of the king of Sidon, and she has brought with her not only a masterful spirit but a devotion to the ancient religion of the land, the worship of Baal. This religion dominates the court, and threatens to abolish the religion of Jehovah. The true believers are under persecution. Suddenly appears Elijah, and confronts the king.

It came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him:—"Are thou he that troubleth Israel?" And he answered:—"I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed the Baalim. Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the Asherah four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table." So Ahab sent unto all the children of Israel, and gathered the prophets together unto mount Carmel. And Elijah came unto all the people, and said:—"How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him." And the people answered him not a word. Then said Elijah unto the people:—"I, even I only, remain a prophet of the Lord; but Baal's prophets are four hundred and fifty men. Let them therefore give us two bullocks; and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces, and lay it on wood, and put no fire under: and I will dress the other bullock, and lay it on wood, and put no fire under: and call ye on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the Lord: and the God that answereth by fire, let him be God." And all the people answered and said:—"It is well spoken." And Elijah said unto the prophets of Baal:—"Choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first; for ye are many; and call on the name of your gods, but put no fire under." And they took the bullock which was given them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying:—"O Baal, hear us." But there was no voice, nor any that answered. And they leaped upon the altar which was made. And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said:—"Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked." And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.

And it came to pass, when midday was past, and they prophesied until the time of the offering of the evening

sacrifice, that there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded. And Elijah said unto all the people:—"Come near unto me." And all the people came near unto him. And he repaired the altar of the Lord that was broken down. And Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be thy name: and with the stones he built an altar in the name of the Lord: and he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed. And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid it on the wood, and said:—"Fill four barrels with water, and pour it on the burnt sacrifice, and on the wood." And he said:—"Do it the second time." And they did it the second time. And he said:—"Do it the third time." And they did it the third time. And the water ran round about the altar; and he filled the trench also with water. And it came to pass at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that Elijah the prophet came near, and said:—"Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their heart back again." Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said:—"The Lord, he is the God; the Lord he is the God." And Elijah said unto them:—"Take the prophets of Baal; let not one of them escape." And they took them: and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and slew them there.

The incident is important from its connection with the long strife between the two religions. The danger of a native uprising in arms had ceased, but there continued a possibility that the worship of Baal might

win the Israelites from the worship of Jehovah. The glowing colors in which the historian depicts the supernatural elements in the scene indicate his sense of its spiritual importance.

When the prophet again confronts the king the contest is still between the two religions, but the point at issue is a matter of social morality in which the difference between Baal and Jehovah appears in a form which we can understand. It was important that the Baal religion should be put down because it encouraged the despotism of Jezebel. Elijah, as the prophet of Jehovah, stood for the rights of the individual against the arrogance and usurpation of the court.

Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying:—"Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money." And Naboth said to Ahab:—"The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread. But Jezebel his wife came to him, and said unto him:—"Why is thy spirit so sad, that thou eatest no bread?" And he said unto her:—"Because I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite, and said unto him, Give me thy vineyard for money; or else, if it please thee, I will give thee another vineyard for it: and he answered, I will not give thee my vineyard." And Jezebel his wife said unto him:—"Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? arise, and eat bread, and let thine

heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite."

So she wrote letters in Ahab's name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent the letters unto the elders and to the nobles that were in his city, dwelling with Naboth. And she wrote in the letters, saying:—"Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people: and set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king. And then carry him out, and stone him, that he may die." And the men of his city, even the elders and the nobles who were the inhabitants in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, and as it was written in the letters which she had sent unto them. They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people. And there came in two men, children of Belial, and sat before him: and the men of Belial witnessed against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying:—"Naboth did blaspheme God and the king." Then they carried him forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones, that he died. Then they sent to Jezebel, saying:—"Naboth is stoned, and is dead." And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab:—"Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money: for Naboth is not alive, but dead." And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, that Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, to take possession of it.

And the word of the Lord came to Elijah the Tishbite, saying:—"Arise, go down to meet Ahab king of Israel, which is in Samaria: behold, he is in the vineyard of Naboth, whither he is gone down to possess it. And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Hast thou killed, and also taken possession? And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the Lord, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." And Ahab said to Elijah:—"Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" And he answered:—"I have found thee: because thou hast sold thyself to work

evil in the sight of the Lord. Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, and will cut off from Ahab every man child, and him that is shut up and him that is left in Israel, and will make thine house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the provocation wherewith thou hast provoked me to anger, and made Israel to sin." And of Jezebel also spake the Lord, saying:—"The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel. Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat." But there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up.

The final blow in the long strife with Baal was dealt by Jehu, a captain in the northern army whom the prophet Elisha stirred up to rebel against the king of Israel and seize his throne.

Jehu gathered all the people together, and said unto them:—"Ahab served Baal a little; but Jehu shall serve him much. Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his servants, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice to do to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live." But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshippers of Baal. And Jehu said:—"Proclaim a solemn assembly for Baal." And they proclaimed it. And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not a man left that came not. And they came into the house of Baal; and the house of Baal was full from one end to another. And he said unto him that was over the vestry:—"Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal." And he brought them forth vestments. And Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the house of Baal, and said unto the worshippers of Baal:—"Search, and look that there be here with you none of the servants of the Lord, but the worshippers of Baal only." And when they went in to offer

sacrifices and burnt offerings, Jehu appointed fourscore men without, and said:—"If any of the men whom I have brought into your hands escape, he that letteth him go, his life shall be for the life of him." And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu said to the guard and to the captains:—"Go in, and slay them; let none come forth." And they smote them with the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains cast them out, and went to the city of the house of Baal. And they brought forth the images out of the house of Baal, and burned them. And they brake down the image of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught house unto this day. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel.

2. The second era is that of the decline and fall of Israel and Judah. The initial approximate date is 750.

This era includes the invasion of the Assyrians, who destroyed the capital city of Samaria, and deported great numbers of people from the northern kingdom, in 721; and the invasion of the Chaldeans, who destroyed the capital city of Jerusalem, and deported the people of the southern kingdom in 586. The principal literary activity of this time was that of the prophets. One group of them wrote in the latter half of the eighth century, 750-700, in the crisis of the Assyrian invasion; another group wrote in the last part of the seventh century, and the first part of the sixth, 625-550, in the crisis of the Chaldean conquest, and under the conditions of the exile which followed. Between the Assyrian period and the Chaldean period appeared (621) the exceedingly influential book of *Deuteronomy;* and the first historical series, *Samuel* and *Kings,* was substantially completed.

3. The third era of the history begins with the return from exile. An initial approximate date, for easy memory, is the year 500.

By that time the Jews, released from captivity by the conquest of the Chaldeans by the Persians, had returned, many of them, to their own land, and had rebuilt the temple. (Completed 516.) In this era the historians were active, publishing the second historical series, and preparing the last edition of the Pentateuch. The prophets also were active, though not with the ability of the men of the Assyrian and the Chaldean periods. The most important writing was done by the poets and the wise men.

Outside of the narrowed boundaries of Judah, the year 500 stood in the midst of a golden century. This was the time when the Greeks met the invading Persians at Marathon (490) and Salamis (480) and turned them back in defeat from the shores of Europe. Within the space of a hundred glorious years Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were writing plays in Athens, Socrates and Plato were teaching philosophy, and Perciles and Phidias were realizing the best dreams of administrators and artists. About the same time Confucius in China (551-478) and Gotama Buddha in India (568-488) were working out the systems of ethics and of religion which have so profoundly affected the life of the East. To this period probably belongs the book of *Job*.

VIII

THE PROPHETS: THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

I

TOWARD the end of the long and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II (c. 750), there appeared in Bethel,—one of the two holy cities of the northern kingdom,—a shepherd named Amos. He came from the south, from the "wilderness of Judah" by the Dead Sea, and the looks of the man, in his shepherd's dress, attracted a crowd about him in the street as he began to speak. He showed his knowledge of human nature by first denouncing the enemies of Israel.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron: but I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. I will break also the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitant from the plain of Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive the whole people, to deliver them up to Edom: but I will send a fire on the

wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof: and I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon, and I will turn mine hand against Ekron: and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord God.

Thus saith the Lord: for three transgressions of Tyre, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole people to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant: but I will send a fire on the wall of Tyre, which shall devour the palaces thereof.

Then Edom, then Ammon, then Moab, then Judah,—and then, Israel.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek.

Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying:—

You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.

Ye who turn judgment to wormwood, and cast down righteousness to the earth, seek him that maketh the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night: that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The Lord is his name: that causeth destruction to flash forth against the strong, so that destruction shall come against the fortress.

They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly. Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I

know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right. Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time; for it is an evil time. Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meal offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

It is a prophecy of the sure ruin of a people who are committing the sins of prosperity. They are oppressing the poor, and perverting justice, and in their religion ritual has taken the place of righteousness.

Presently out came the priest of Bethel, and expelled the prophet from the city.

Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam king of Israel, saying:—"Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words. For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land." Also Amaziah said unto Amos:—"O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court." Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah:—"I am no prophet, neither am I a prophet's son; but I am an herdman, and a pincher of sycomore fruit: and the Lord

took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel."

Nevertheless, away he went. There was no help for it. Even if the Lord had spoken to him, as he said, he might not be permitted to repeat even the Lord's words when they took the form of a denunciation of society and of the church.

This is one of the most significant of the dramatic scenes of the Old Testament, for here meet the men, the prophet and the priest, who represent the two everlastingly opposing forces whose contention fills the pages of history.

The priest is a conservative, he stands for the maintenance of things as they are; he is an institutionalist, holding an office which is both political and ecclesiastical, a churchman who is a counselor of the king; he is a friend of the rich. The prophet is a radical, he would change or destroy things as they are for the sake of things as they ought to be; he is an individualist, in whose opinion the state is a good state, and the church a good church, only when they do good, if they do ill they ought to be rebuked and reformed; the prophet is a friend of the poor, on whom the ill-doing of the church and of the state falls most heavily. It was in the spirit of the prophet that Samuel rebuked King Saul, and Nathan rebuked King David, and Elijah rebuked King Ahab.

The priest was an official person, appointed and ordained; he was dependent upon precedent, careful to walk in the old paths; his formula was "It is written," —written in the ancient books. The prophet was

almost always an unofficial person, a layman. There were official prophets, "schools" of them, in attendance at court, often allies of the priests. Most of the prophets whose names we know had nothing to do with them. The great prophets were like Micaiah (*I Kings 22*) of whom Ahab said, "I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." There were four hundred official prophets who made it their business to say whatever the king liked to hear, of whom Micaiah said that the spirit by which they spoke was a lying spirit. It was prophets such as these of whom Amos was thinking when he said proudly, "I am no prophet, neither am I a prophet's son." The formula of the true prophet was "Thus saith the Lord."

It may have been in consequence of the silencing of Amos by the priest that he wrote his book. It was the first collection of written sermons, the first example of a new and inestimably important way of teaching religion.

II

The book of *Amos* is dated by its reference to Jeroboam II (7:11). The book of *Hosea* is dated a few years later by its clear sight of the approaching fall of the house of Jehu, of which Jeroboam II was the last successful king (1:4), and by its allusions to the corruption and anarchy in the midst of which that dynasty came to an end.

There is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. They swear, and lie, and kill, and steal, and commit adultery; they break out, and blood toucheth blood. (4:1, 2.)

They have devoured their judges; all their kings have fallen; there is none among them that calleth unto me. (7:7.)

Hosea became a prophet by the illumination of a bitter experience. The account of it is given with some obscurity in his first and third chapters. His wife was unfaithful to him. She deserted him and their three little children, two sons and a daughter. After degrading experiences, forsaken by her false friends, she was offered for sale as a slave. Her husband, finding her in that situation, bought her and took her back to their ruined home.

The Lord said unto me: "Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods and love flagons of wine." So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and seventeen bushels of barley. And I said unto her: "Thou shalt abide with me many days; thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man: so will I also be for thee."

Out of this experience there came to Hosea that which is called in theology a revelation. In his book appeared a new truth, one of the most important that has ever been made plain to the mind of man, the truth of the love of God.

Remember that the Bible, if the parts of it which existed in Hosea's day could have been gathered together, would have consisted of *Genesis, Exodus,* and *Numbers* (*JE*), *Joshua* and *Judges* (without the morals), and so much of *Samuel* and *Kings* as gave the history down to Jeroboam II, with the book of

Amos. In the Bible thus far the providence of God was taught, the justice of God, the righteousness of God, and the indignation of God against sinners. Hosea was the first man to perceive clearly and to declare plainly that the love of God continued without fail through the sin of man, and through the punishment by which that sin is followed.

This was revealed to Hosea by his own experience. He said to himself, "My love for my wife, who has deserted me and sinned against me, is according to the love of God toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods." The man said, in effect, "What I am at my best is a disclosure of what God is, who has made me in his own image; for God must be at least as good as I am. And here in my heart is this unfailing love. There must be the same unfailing love in the heart of God." The revelation was more certain than that of any vision or of any words spoken from the sky, for there it was in the evident and abiding constitution of human nature, and its basis in reason was plain to any thoughtful person. Since the idea of God has flashed into the mind of primitive man, no more important revelation had been made. To this day it constitutes the most significant difference between the religion of the Bible and all the other religions of the world.

Hosea is as stern in denunciation of sin as is Amos, but in his book the divine indignation is spoken in the spirit of fatherly love. "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel?" If the people will but repent and return, and cease to do evil,

the unchangingly loving God will receive, and forgive, and bless them. The story of the Prodigal Wife is like the story of the Prodigal Son.

O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn to the Lord: say unto him:—"Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips. Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses; neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy." I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely: for mine anger is turned away from him. I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine: the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.

But Israel did not return to the Lord. Therefore, instead of entering into these blessings they were punished, as Hosea prophesied. The kingdom fell, because of its iniquity, at the hands of the invading Assyrians.

III

During the early ministry of Isaiah the peril from the east became so menacing that Israel joined with its neighbor and old enemy, Syria, to resist the invaders. They called to their aid the kingdom of Judah. "Come," said King Pekah of Samaria and King Rezin of Damascus to King Ahaz of Jerusalem, "let us unite our forces and hold the Assyrians back." When Ahaz

hesitated, they threatened to compel him into the alliance by force, and joined their armies for that purpose. It was the opinion of Isaiah that the thing for Judah to do was to sit still. The two kings, he declared, shall be overthrown, and that so soon that it shall happen before a child born to-day shall be old enough to know the difference between good and evil. Name such a child Immanuel, he said, "God-with-us," for the Lord God shall do this. He will fight for us.

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying:—"Syria is confederate with Ephraim." And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah:—"Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, have taken evil counsel against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal: thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass."

Moreover the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying:—"Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above." But Ahaz said:—"I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord."

And he said:—"Hear ye now, O house of David; Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a young woman is with child, and

shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken.

Ahaz refused the counsel of Isaiah. He hired the Assyrians to fight for him against Israel and Syria, as the Britons in their extremity hired the Angels and Saxons to fight for them against the Picts and Scots. Then the storm fell. The Assyrians destroyed the kingdoms of Syria and of Israel, and marched down against Jerusalem.

Isaiah and Micah, contemporaries in their ministry in the southern kingdom, as Amos and Hosea had been contemporary in the northern, agree that this evil is because of the sins of Judah. Micah sees the enemy coming from the destruction of Samaria, overruning the villages of the countryside in which he lives, on their way to Jerusalem. This, he says, is a punishment for the covetousness and cruelty of the rich.

Hear, all ye people; hearken, O earth, and all that therein is: and let the Lord God be witness against you, the Lord from his holy temple. For, behold, the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down, and tread upon the high places of the earth. And the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, and as the waters that are poured down a steep place. From the transgression of Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel. What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? and what are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem? Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will

discover the foundations thereof. And all the graven images thereof shall be beaten to pieces, and all the hires thereof shall be burned with the fire, and all the idols thereof will I lay desolate: for she gathered them of the hire of an harlot, and they shall return to the hire of an harlot. Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the jackals, and mourning as the ostriches. For her wound is incurable; for it is come unto Judah; it hath smitten the gate of my people, even to Jerusalem.

Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage. Therefore thus saith the Lord; Behold, against this family do I devise an evil, from which ye shall not remove your necks; neither shall ye go haughtily: for this time is evil.

Isaiah at the same time describes the desolation of the land around Jerusalem as the siege continues, and denounces the hypocrisy of a religion which has degenerated into mere ceremony. Nothing, he says, can save the nation but repentance and righteous living.

Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken:—"I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying

sores: so they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment. Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" saith the Lord: "I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies,—I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

It is like the ever-memorable exaltation of plain goodness as the heart of right religion, in *Micah:*

Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my

soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

Micah is sure that Jerusalem shall be utterly destroyed. He is a peasant, like Amos, with a peasant's strong dislike of cities, with whose ways he is unacquainted and in which he has no friends.

Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say:—"Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us." Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.

But Isaiah, who is a citizen of Jerusalem, an eminent person there, a courtier who converses with kings, is of a different mind. He denounces the idolatry which still remains in the religion of the aristocracy.

Therefore thou hast forsaken thy people the house of Jacob, because they be replenished from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the children of strangers. Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land is also full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots: their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made: and the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself: therefore forgive them not.

Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty. The lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. For the day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up; and he shall be brought low: and upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan, and upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up, and upon every high tower, and upon every fenced wall, and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant imagery. And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be made low: and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. And the idols he shall utterly abolish. And they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth. In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats; to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.

He ridicules the foolish finery of the rich women, "walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet."

In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings, and nose jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails.

But he is confident of the salvation of Jerusalem. The avenging Lord shall indeed summon the Assyrians in his anger.

And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth: and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly: none shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken: whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind: their roarings shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions: yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and shall carry it away safe, and none shall deliver it. And in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea: and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.

And the Assyrian shall come in his pride and might.

For he saith:—"Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? is not Hamath as Arpad? is not Samaria as Damascus? As my hand hath found the kingdoms of idols, and whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?" Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he saith:—"By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man: and my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth; and there was

none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped." Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up; or as if the staff should lift up that which is not wood.

Isaiah, like Micah, imagines the march of the invading army, from one conquered city to another, toward Jerusalem.

He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he hath mustered his baggage: they are gone over the passage: they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim: cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth. Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee. This very day shall he halt at Nob: he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.

But the Lord God will protect his holy city.

Therefore thus saith the Lord God of hosts:—"O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction." And the Lord of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him according to the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb: and as his rod was upon the sea, so shall he lift it up after the manner of Egypt. And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing.

Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, shall lop the bough with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled. And he

shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a Glorious One.

And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots: and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; and shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

This expectation of a Golden Age is characteristic of the prophets. Out of disaster and defeat they look forward to a time when the world-powers shall be humbled, and the kingdom of Judah shall be supreme over all the nations of the earth. In that time, war shall be no more, and the will of the Lord God shall be obeyed by all people.

It appears in *Micah* (4:1-5) and in *Isaiah* (2:2-4) in the same words.

But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established

in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and the people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come, and say:—"Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths." For the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

Sometimes the prophet, looking into the far future, sees not only the deliverance but the deliverer, the anointed one, the Messiah, who shall put to flight the enemies of the Lord and bring in the Golden Age. Micah says that he shall come like David from Bethlehem.

Thou, Bethlehem, Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

Isaiah says that he shall appear in the line of David, "a rod out of the stem of Jesse," but like Micah he brings into his portrayal of him mystical, divine elements. The Messiah is a great conqueror and a wise ruler, but much more.

The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased the joy: they joy before

thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian. Yea, every boot of the booted warrior, and the cloak rolled in blood, they are to be burned up as fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

IV

Later in the book there is a Messianic passage which, with all its obscurity and difficulty, still declares plainly that the deliverance shall be wrought out at the cost of pain to the deliverer. He shall suffer, and by means of his suffering, even by means of his death, we shall be saved.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion:—"Thy God reigneth!" Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God. Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean, that bear the vessels of the Lord. For

ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight: for the Lord will go before you; and the God of Israel be your rearward.

Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high. As many were astonied at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men: so shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider. Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For he grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken. And they made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days,

and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many: for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

The opening words indicate a situation quite different from the fear of the Assyrians with which the book began. The Golden Age, as it is here foreseen, includes among its initial blessings the restoration of the "waste places of Jerusalem." But in the time of Isaiah there were no waste places in Jerusalem. The holy city was protected and delivered, as he said it would be.

It is evident from the arrangement of the chapters that this passage is in the second volume of *Isaiah.* The first volume ends, like the book of *Jeremiah,* with chapters of history taken from *Kings.* (*Is.* 36-39—*II Kings* 14-20, as *Jer.* 52—*II Kings* 24:18-25:21.) It appears, however, by a comparison of the situation in the first volume (1-39) with the situation in the second volume (40-56) that between the two is a space of two hundred years. In *I Isaiah* the great enemy is Assyria, at first threatening, then destroying the northern kingdom, then invading the southern kingdom, even to the walls of Jerusalem. In *II Isaiah* there is no mention of Assyria; the Assyrians have disappeared in the long past. Their place is taken by the Chaldeans, whose city of Babylon has now become the

capital of the world. In the days of King Hezekiah, when Isaiah was in the midst of his ministry, the Chaldeans were a subject people, under the rule of Assyria, trying to persuade the Jews to join them in rebellion (*Is.* 39). Now they rule the nations; they have destroyed Jerusalem; they have carried the Jews into captivity. Already, however, on the horizon appear the Persians (*Is.* 45); they shall conquer the Chaldeans; and thus the long exile shall be ended, and the holy city shall be rebuilt and inhabited. A central purpose of *I Isaiah* was to declare that Jerusalem should not be overthrown by the Assyrians. A central purpose of *II Isaiah* was to declare, two hundred years later, that Jerusalem, overthrown by the Chaldeans, should again become the city of the Jews. Both volumes bear the name of Isaiah because the first volume begins with an account of his ministry, and contains many of his sermons; as two of the historical books, for a like reason, bear the name of Samuel.

IX

THE PROPHETS: THE CHALDEAN PERIOD

AMOS and Hosea, preaching in the northern kingdom, and Micah and Isaiah, preaching in the southern kingdom, in the shadow of the Assyrian invasion, were followed a century later by a second group of prophets who dealt with the conditions attending the invasion of Judah by the Chaldeans, the fall of Jerusalem at their hands, and the captivity of the conquered Jews in Babylon.

I

Except the first of the group, Zephaniah. He was moved to prophetic speech by the menace of invasion not of the Assyrians, but of the Scythians. These wild tribes are not named in the book, but Herodotus says that at that time they came swarming from the north, and put all the civilization of the world in peril. That was in Josiah's day, the book says, and evidently before the reformation which Josiah set on foot after the appearance of *Deuteronomy*. A fair guess at a date is 625. Down came the Scythians, and made their fearful way along the coast road through the land of the Philistines on their way to invade Egypt. Thence they were turned back, probably by a bribe. Zephaniah

expected that they would destroy Jerusalem. It ought to be destroyed, he thought, because of the sins of the evil and pagan reign of Manasseh. He saw the Day of the Lord at hand, and described it in phrases which, in the Middle Ages, were set to the solemn music of the *Dies Irae.*

> The great day of the Lord is near, it is near, and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the Lord: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly. That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers. And I will bring distress upon men, that they shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord: and their blood shall be poured out as dust, and their flesh as the dung. Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the Lord's wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of his jealousy: for he shall make even a speedy riddance of all them that dwell in the land.

II

This peril passed, but the Day of the Lord drew near in the progress of the Chaldeans. In 606, they destroyed Nineveh. The book of *Nahum* was written shortly before this determining event, and the book of *Habakkuk* shortly after.

1. Nahum watched the siege of Nineveh with exultation. It meant for him the downfall of that vast power which had desolated Israel and invaded Judah. He dwelt with satisfaction and delight upon the details of the taking of the city.

He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face: keep the munition, watch the way, make thy loins strong, fortify thy power mightily. For the Lord hath turned away the excellency of Jacob, as the excellency of Israel: for the emptiers have emptied them out, and marred their vine branches. The shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men are in scarlet: the chariots shall be with flaming torches in the day of his preparation, and the fir trees shall be terribly shaken. The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall jostle one against another in the broad ways: they shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightnings. He shall recount his worthies: they shall stumble in their walk; they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence shall be prepared. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts.

But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water: yet they shall flee away. "Stand, stand," shall they cry; but none shall look back. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold: for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste: and the heart melteth, and the knees smite together, and much pain is in all loins, and the faces of them all gather blackness.

Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid? The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin. Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will burn her chariots in the smoke, and the sword shall devour thy young lions: and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.

Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not. The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman

lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and none end of corpses; they stumble upon their corpses.

2. To Habakkuk, however, the fall of Nineveh was but the beginning of new sorrows. The Chaldeans, having destroyed Nineveh, came marching into the west against Judah, and the other Mediterranean provinces. The prophet is grievously perplexed. How can this apparent indifference of God be reconciled with the divine love, or even with the divine justice? How can it be that God, who very properly encourages the destruction of the wicked city of Nineveh, will permit also the destruction of the holy city of Jerusalem. The book begins with a dialogue between the prophet and the Lord.

O Lord, [says the prophet,] how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! even cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save! Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence are before me: and there are that raise up strife and contention. Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth: for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgment proceedeth.

Behold ye among the heathen, [says the Lord,] and regard, and wonder marvellously: for I will work a work in your days, which ye will not believe, though it be told you. For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land, to possess the dwellingplaces that are not theirs. They are terrible and dreadful: their judgment and their dignity shall proceed from themselves. Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far;

they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat. They shall come all for violence: their faces shall sup up as the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity as the sand. And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them: they shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap dust, and take it. Then shall his mind change, and he shall pass over, and offend, even he whose might is his god.

But the prophet is not satisfied.

Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die. O Lord, thou hast ordained them for judgment; and, O mighty God, thou hast established them for correction. Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? and makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them? They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag: therefore they rejoice and are glad. Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous. Shall they therefore empty their net, and not spare continually to slay the nations? I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved.

And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it. For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry. Behold, his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faith.

"By his faith," by his faithfulness, by the integrity of his life. Everything that can be plundered may be

plundered, and all things that are breakable may be broken. The holy city may be destroyed, and the holy people scattered abroad. The situation serves to reveal the everlasting value of the things which are eternal. There are possessions which fire can not burn, nor robbers steal. It is like the cartoon in *Punch* where the German Emperor says to the king of the Belgians, pointing to the ruined land, "You see, you have lost everything." To which the king of the Belgians replies, "Not my soul!"

III

In the crisis of the inevitable invasion, while Jerusalem was besieged and when it fell, the mind of God was declared by two prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

1. Jeremiah was first moved to speak by the same Scythian peril which had aroused Zephaniah. They were young men together. Zephaniah, being a great-great-grandson of King Hezekiah, was only about twenty; and Jeremiah, whose ministry was to extend, like that of Isaiah, over forty years, was about the same age. The king, Josiah, was only a year or two older. The first six chapters of the book of *Jeremiah* contain sermons which seem to have been first preached in the time of the Scythians, and then altered a little and preached again in the time of the approach of the Chaldeans.

Out of the north, from the direction indicated by the boiling kettle, come the fierce barbarians, their battle-bows in their hands, riding on swift horses.

I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was without form, and void; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved to and fro. I beheld, and, lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens were fled. I beheld, and, lo, the fruitful place was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the Lord, and by his fierce anger. For thus hath the Lord said, The whole land shall be desolate; yet will I not make a full end. For this shall the earth mourn, and the heavens above be black: because I have spoken it, I have purposed it, and will not repent, neither will I turn back from it. The whole city shall flee for the noise of the horsemen and bowmen; they shall go into thickets, and climb up upon the rocks: every city shall be forsaken, and not a man dwell therein.

Jeremiah and Zephaniah are agreed that this is the End of the World. Such a despairing expectation was consistent with their youth. "It is currently said," says Mr. Chesterton, "that hope goes with youth, and lends to youth its wings of a butterfly; but I fancy that hope is the last gift given to man, and the only gift not given to youth. Youth is pre-eminently the period in which a man can be lyric, fanatical, poetic; but youth is the period in which a man can be hopeless. The end of every episode is the end of the world. But the power of hoping through everything, the knowledge that the soul survives its adventures,—that great inspiration comes to the middle-aged. God has kept that good wine until now."

The Scythian peril had hardly passed, however, when the Chaldean peril began. As the empire of Assyria, long the master of the world, began to show signs of weakness, it was attacked by two enemies.

Out of Egypt came the army of the Pharaoh Necho, out of Babylonia came the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar. As the Egyptian hosts marched by, they were attacked by King Josiah, in the Plain of Esdraelon, at Megiddo, perhaps in loyalty to his Assyrian overlord. Josiah was defeated and killed, and the high hopes of the Hebrews perished with him. Judah was made a vassal of Egypt. The Chaldeans, on their side, destroyed Nineveh. In 605, the two contestants for the throne of the world met in the decisive battle of Carchemish, on the upper Euphrates, and the Chaldeans were victorious. Judah was thus made a vassal of Chaldea. Jehoiakim, a son of Josiah, whom the Egyptians had put upon the throne in Jerusalem, was confirmed in that position by the Chaldeans. Then the prophetic activity of Jeremiah began again.

He had already proclaimed the indignation of God against the sins of the people. The reformation under Josiah had not reformed them. Under the instruction of *Deuteronomy* they had indeed abolished the local shrines; and centered the worship of God in Jerusalem; but this had served to convince them that Jerusalem, containing the temple of the Lord, would be safe from all disaster, no matter what kind of lives they lived. The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, saying:—

Stand in the gate of the Lord's house, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah, that enter in at these gates to worship the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying:—"The temple of the Lord, the temple of the

Lord, The temple of the Lord are these." For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt: then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever. Behold, ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye know not; and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say:—"We are delivered to do all these abominations?" Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold, even I have seen it, saith the Lord. But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. And now, because ye have done all these works, saith the Lord, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not; therefore will I do unto this house, which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh. And I will cast you out of my sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim.

These bold words put the prophet in immediate danger of death. Everybody was against him.

Now it came to pass, when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking all that the Lord had commanded him to speak unto all the people, that the priests and the prophets and all the people took him, saying:—"Thou shalt surely die. Why hast thou prophesied in the name of the Lord, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without an inhabitant?" And all the people were gathered against Jeremiah in the house of the Lord. When the princes of Judah heard

these things, then they came up from the king's house unto the house of the Lord, and sat down in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house. Then spake the priests and the prophets unto the princes and to all the people, saying:—"This man is worthy to die; for he hath prophesied against this city, as ye have heard with your ears." Then spake Jeremiah unto all the princes and to all the people, saying:—"The Lord sent me to prophesy against this house and against this city all the words that ye have heard. Therefore now amend your ways and your doings, and obey the voice of the Lord your God; and the Lord will repent him of the evil that he hath pronounced against you. As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears." Then said the princes and all the people unto the priests and to the prophets:—"This man is not worthy to die: for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God."

Then rose up certain of the elders of the land, and spake to all the assembly of the people, saying:—"Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest. Did Hezekiah king of Judah and all Judah put him at all to death? did he not fear the Lord, and besought the Lord, and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them? Thus might we procure great evil against our souls."

And there was also a man that prophesied in the name of the Lord, Urijah the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, who prophesied against this city and against this land according to all the words of Jeremiah; and when Jehoiakim the king, with all his mighty men, and all the princes, heard his words, the king sought to put

him to death: but when Urijah heard it, he was afraid, and fled, and went into Egypt. And Jehoiakim the king sent men into Egypt, namely, Elnathan the son of Achbor, and certain men with him into Egypt. And they fetched forth Urijah out of Egypt, and brought him unto Jehoiakim the king; who slew him with the sword, and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people. Nevertheless the hand of Ahikam the son of Shaphan was with Jeremiah, that they should not give him into the hand of the people to put him to death.

Jeremiah had spoken with like boldness against the king. Jehoiakim, though the land groaned under the taxes which he levied upon it to meet the demands of his foreign masters, was building himself a splendid palace.

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work; that saith:—"I will build me a wide house and large chambers," and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermilion. Shalt thou reign, because thou closest thyself in cedar? did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgment and justice, and then it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him; was not this to know me? saith the Lord. But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it. Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah; They shall not lament for him, saying:—"Ah my brother!" or, "Ah sister!" they shall not lament for him, saying:—"Ah lord!" or, "Ah his glory!" He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.

Then came an incident the account of which is not only a record of the contention between the prophet and the king but a disclosure of Jeremiah's book in the very process of making. Here is a prophet in the act of committing his words to writing.

And it came to pass in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that this word came unto Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, "Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah, even unto this day. It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way; that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin."

Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah: and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord, which he had spoken unto him, upon a roll of a book. And Jeremiah commanded Baruch, saying:— "I am shut up; I cannot go into the house of the Lord: therefore go thou, and read in the roll, which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people in the Lord's house upon the fasting day: and also thou shalt read them in the ears of all Judah that come out of their cities. It may be they will present their supplication before the Lord, and will return every one from his evil way: for great is the anger and the fury that the Lord hath pronounced against this people." And Baruch the son of Neriah did according to all that Jeremiah the prophet commanded him, reading in the book the words of the Lord in the Lord's house.

And it came to pass in the fifth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, in the ninth month, that they proclaimed a fast before the Lord to all the people in Jerusalem, and to all the people that came from the cities of Judah unto Jerusalem. Then read Baruch in the book the words of Jeremiah in the house of the Lord,

in the chamber of Gemariah the son of Shaphan the scribe, in the higher court, at the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house, in the ears of all the people. And when Micaiah the son of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan, had heard out of the book all the words of the Lord, then he went down into the king's house, into the scribe's chamber: and, lo, all the princes sat there, even Elishama the scribe, and Delaiah the son of Shemaiah, and Elnathan the son of Achbor, and Gemariah the son of Shaphan, and Zedekiah the son of Hananiah, and all the princes. Then Micaiah declared unto them all the words that he had heard, when Baruch read the book in the ears of the people. Therefore all the princes sent Jehudi the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi, unto Baruch, saying:—"Take in thine hand the roll wherein thou hast read in the ears of the people, and come." So Baruch the son of Neriah took the roll in his hand, and came unto them. And they said unto him:—"Sit down now, and read it in our ears." So Baruch read it in their ears. Now it came to pass, when they had heard all the words, they were afraid both one and other, and said unto Baruch:—"We will surely tell the king of all these words." And they asked Baruch, saying:—"Tell us now, How didst thou write all these words at his mouth?" Then Baruch answered them:—"He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in the book." Then said the princes unto Baruch:—"Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah; and let no man know where ye be." And they went in to the king into the court, but they laid up the roll in the chamber of Elishama the scribe, and told all the words in the ears of the king.

So the king sent Jehudi to fetch the roll: and he took it out of Elishama the scribe's chamber. And Jehudi read it in the ears of the king, and in the ears of all the princes which stood beside the king. Now the king sat in the winterhouse in the ninth month: and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him. And it came to pass, that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves, he cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was on

the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was on the hearth. Yet they were not afraid, nor rent their garments, neither the king, nor any of his servants that heard all these words. Nevertheless Elnathan and Delaiah and Gemariah had made intercession to the king that he would not burn the roll: but he would not hear them. But the king commanded Jerahmeel the son of Hammelech, and Seraiah the son of Azriel, and Shelemiah the son of Abdeel, to take Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet: but the Lord hid them.

Then the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, after that the king had burned the roll, and the words which Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah, saying, Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim the king of Judah hath burned. And thou shalt say to Jehoiakim king of Judah, Thus saith the Lord; Thou hast burned this roll, saying:—"Why hast thou written therein, saying, The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast?" Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim king of Judah; He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost. And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon the men of Judah, all the evil that I have pronounced against them; but they hearkened not.

Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire: and there were added besides unto them many like words.

The first half of *Jeremiah* (1-25) was thus, in great part, written. It consists of prophecies, with autobiographical notes. The second half is for the most part a biography of Jeremiah, perhaps written by his

secretary Baruch, and giving his experiences and activities during the siege and fall of Jerusalem, and after.

Jeremiah declared that the Chaldeans would certainly take the city, and advised surrender before it was too late.

Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans, which besiege you without the walls, and I will assemble them into the midst of this city. And I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath. And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall die of a great pestilence. And afterward, saith the Lord, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, and such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the famine, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that seek their life: and he shall smite them with the edge of the sword; he shall not spare them, neither have pity, nor have mercy.

And unto this people thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I set before you the way of life, and the way of death. He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey. For I have set my face against this city for evil, and not for good, saith the Lord: it shall be given into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire.

Such advice was held by the king's counselors as to be nothing less than treason. The prophet was ar-

rested; he was thrust down into an empty well, from which he was rescued by the help of a friendly negro; he was put in prison. The king, meanwhile, was of two minds between surrender to the Chaldeans and a hope of aid from Egypt. Then the siege reached its crisis; the king, trying to escape, was caught by the enemy, and with his eyes put out, was carried a captive to Babylon. In the general deportation of the people, Jeremiah was permitted to remain in Jerusalem. When, presently, the governor appointed by Nebuchadnezzar was assassinated, the Jews who had been left in the city fled to Egypt, against the advice of Jeremiah, taking him with them.

Thus there went out of sight a man who exercised his long ministry under conditions of unfailing and increasing unpopularity. He deplored and lamented it, and desired that he might die.

O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I am deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. For as often as I speak I cry out; I cry:—"violence and spoil;" because the word of the Lord is made a reproach unto me, and a derision, daily. And if I say:—"I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name," then his word is in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot stay. For I hear the defaming of many, fear on every side. "Report," say they, "and we will report it." All my familiars watch for my halting, saying:—"Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him." But the Lord is with me as a mighty terrible one: therefore my persecutors shall stumble, and they shall not prevail:

they shall be greatly ashamed; for they shall not prosper: their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten. But, O Lord of hosts, that triest the righteous, and seest the reins and the heart, let me see thy vengeance on them: for unto thee have I opened my cause. Sing unto the Lord, praise ye the Lord: for he hath delivered the soul of the poor from the hand of evildoers.

Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed. Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying:—"A man child is born unto thee;" making him very glad. And let that man be as the cities which the Lord overthrew, and repented not: and let him hear the cry in the morning, and the shouting at noontide; because he slew me not from the womb; or that my mother might have been my grave, and her womb to be always great with me. Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?

Nevertheless he continued to do that which he believed to be right, and to say that which he believed to be true, though thereby he stood alone against all men. He fulfilled to the end, in the face of persecution and the peril of his life, the word of the Lord which he heard at the beginning:—

Thou therefore gird up thy loins and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them. For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brasen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land. And they shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee.

IV

1. As the holy city falls, and the people are carried into exile in Babylon, there is heard for one moment the indignant voice of the prophet Obadiah. He cries out against Edom, because in the day of the distress of Judah these sons of Esau rejoiced.

For thy violence against thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them. But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress. Thou shouldest not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, thou shouldest not have looked on their affliction in the day of their calamity, nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity; neither shouldest thou have stood in the crossway, to cut off those of his that did escape; neither shouldest thou have delivered up those of his that did remain in the day of distress. For the day of the Lord is near upon all the heathen: as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee: thy reward shall return upon thine own head.

2. Meanwhile, from afar, in Babylon, the progress of this tragedy was watched by the prophet Ezekiel. He had been carried into captivity ten years before the final deportation, when the Chaldeans, invading Judah but sparing Jerusalem, had deported most of the men of health and rank and ability. He was both a prophet and a priest.

At first Ezekiel directed his ministry against the expectation of a speedy return. His fellow exiles were confident that Jerusalem could not be destroyed, and were certain that by some change of fortune the Lord would bring them back. They believed that God himself was dependent upon the continued existence of the holy city. They thought of him as a god of the land, dwelling in the temple. The conquest of the land and the destruction of the temple they accounted impossible, for this would leave God without a habitation.

The first part of *Ezekiel* (1-24) is occupied with the declaration, in sermons and in symbols, that Jerusalem would certainly be destroyed, and that it ought to be destroyed. But when that happened, and the people in consequence fall from delusion to despair, the message of the prophet changed, and having prophesied the ruin of the city he now prophesied its restoration. After a series of oracles concerning foreign nations (25-32) such as had already appeared in *Isaiah* (13-23) and *Jeremiah* (46-51), the remainder of the book (33-48) is occupied with promises of deliverance, and with plans for the rearrangement of the restored land, and the administration of the restored community.

The impossible shall happen, says the prophet. Out of this national disaster and apparent death of hope, shall come new life.

Thus saith the Lord God; In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded.

And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say:—"This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced, and are inhabited." Then the heathen that are left round about you shall know that I the Lord build the ruined places, and plant that that was desolate: I the Lord have spoken it, and I will do it.

Thus saith the Lord God; I will yet for this be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them: I will increase them with men like a flock. As the holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men: and they shall know that I am the Lord.

The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, and caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me:—"Son of man, can these bones live?" And I answered:—"O Lord God, thou knowest." Again he said unto me:—"Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live: and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord." So I prophesied as I was commanded: and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above: but there was no breath in them. Then said he unto me:—"Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Then

he said unto me:—"Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are clean cut off. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves. And shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord."

There shall be one last war of the heathen against the holy people. Gog shall come from Magog with "horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts of armor, even a great company with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords." But the Lord shall fight against them with "an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire and brimstone," and the bows and arrows of the defeated invaders shall serve the people for firewood seven years. "They that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth, and shall set on fire and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the hand-staves and the spears, and they shall burn them with fire seven years: so that they shall take no wood out of the field, neither cut down any out of the forests; for they shall burn the weapons with fire: and they shall spoil those that spoiled them, and rob those that robbed them, saith the Lord" (39).

The prophet saw in another vision the Lord in his wheeled throne returning to his holy temple (43).

Afterward he brought me to the gate, even the gate that looketh toward the east: and, behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east: and his voice was like a noise of many waters: and the earth shined with his glory. And it was according to the appearance of the vision which I saw, even according to the vision that I saw when I came to destroy the city: and the visions were like the vision that I saw by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face. And the glory of the Lord came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east. So the spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of the Lord filled the house.

Ezekiel so repeated and elaborated the metaphor of Hosea, which described unfaithfulness to God in terms of adultery, that some of his chapters are unpleasant and repellent reading. His suggestions of new canons and rubrics for the conduct of worship in the restored temple are as remote from our present interest as the book of *Leviticus;* the spirit and manner of which are so akin to the style and mind of Ezekiel as to suggest the doubtful theory that he was its author. But the importance of the priest-prophet in the history of religion is very great. He it was, with like-minded persons who gathered about him, who when the Jewish people ceased to be a nation transformed them into a church. It was Ezekiel who led them out of destruction into that marvelously continuing life which they have since lived to this day, a people without political independence, then without a country, maintaining in the face of oppression and persecution their race and their religion.

3. The supreme consolation of the people of the

exile is contained in *II Isaiah*. The closing chapters (56-66) seem to be addressed to those who having returned from their captivity are enduring the hardships of poverty and misrule in their own land; but earlier chapters (40-55) are filled with assurances of release. The Chaldeans are already beset by the enemies who eventually conquered them: Cyrus, who took Babylon in 538, is hailed as the coming deliverer of the Jews. The prophet, whose eloquence is as lofty as his faith, declares that the long and bitter punishment of the exile is almost ended.

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness:—"Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. The voice said:—"Cry." And he said:—"What shall I cry?" All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: the grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah:—"Behold your God!" Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his wage

is with him, and his recompence before him. He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.

Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling, and wrung them out. There is none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up. These two things are come unto thee; who shall be sorry for thee? desolation, and destruction, and the famine, and the sword: by whom shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted, they lie at the head of all the streets, as a wild bull in a net: they are full of the fury of the Lord, the rebuke of thy God. Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and drunken, but not with wine: thus saith thy Lord the Lord, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people:—"Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury; thou shalt no more drink it again: but I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may go over: and thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over."

Awake, awake; put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion:—"Thy God reigneth!" Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The

Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children.

Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

X

THE PROPHETS: AFTER THE EXILE

I

THREE prophets,—Haggai, Malachi and Zechariah—dealt with the conditions of life in Jerusalem after the return from the exile. The situation was discouraging. Many of the Jews preferred to stay in Babylon, finding business good there, and the way to preferment open. The accounts of the high position gained by Daniel and by Mordecai at the Persian court probably belong more to the literature of imagination than to the literature of history, but they indicate a general acceptance of the fact that there were Jews of great renown who did not go back to Jerusalem. Even a hundred years after the return under Zerubbabel and Joshua, men of such devotion as Ezra the scribe, and of such wealth and ability of leadership as Nehemiah, were still resident among the Gentiles. The exile was the beginning of that dispersion of the Jews in foreign lands which has ever since been one of the most notable facts in their history. The people to whom the three prophets spoke were some of them descendants of those who had been carried into exile, but many were descended from those who had

escaped from the Chaldeans into the surrounding countries, or who had been left behind by the Chaldeans as not worth the expense of deportation.

1. The offenses which Haggai and Malachi reproved in these people were not the robust sins of idolatry or immorality, but rather the petty evils which belong to dull indifference. Haggai rebuked the people because they did not rebuild the temple. Malachi rebuked the priests, after the temple was built, because they went about their duties so carelessly, and accounted their ministry a weariness. The appeals of the prophets to the priests and to the people are on a level with their transgressions.

Then came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet, saying:—"Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste? Now therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts; Consider your ways. Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord. Ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the Lord of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house. Therefore the heaven over you is stayed from dew, and the earth is stayed from her fruit. And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands."

A like word of the Lord came to the prophet Malachi.

A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a father, where is mine honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of hosts unto you, O priests, that despise my name. And ye say:—"Wherein have we despised thy name?" Ye offer polluted bread upon mine altar; and ye say:—"Wherein have we polluted thee?" In that ye say:—"The table of the Lord is contemptible." And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts.

Ye said also:—"Behold, what a weariness is it!" and ye have snuffed at it, saith the Lord of hosts; and ye brought that which was torn, and the lame, and the sick; thus ye brought an offering: should I accept this of your hand? saith the Lord. But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I am a great King, saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is dreadful among the heathen.

Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say:—"Wherein have we robbed thee?" In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts.

It is a sordid argument for a revival of religion.

Build the church, and the Lord will give you corn and wine and oil! Support the church by the prompt payment of your tithes, your dues, your generous subscriptions, and you shall have good seasons and plentiful harvests!

Even so, these prophets have glimpses of a kingdom of God, when the new temple, at the sight of which old men wept who remembered the splendor of the temple of Solomon, shall be made glorious by the divine presence, and the God of Israel shall reign in righteousness over all the earth.

In the seventh month, in the one and twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the prophet Haggai, saying:—"Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and to the residue of the people, saying, Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing? Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts: according to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts."

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall

suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts. But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap: and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years. And I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts.

2. Zechariah was contemporary with Haggai, and had the same manner of dating his prophecies. Haggai's dates show that he spoke or wrote in September, October and December, 520: Zechariah's dates are November, 520, February, 519, and December, 518. The book called *Zechariah* is the first eight chapters. These contain a series of visions concerning the rebuilding of the temple and of the city, the removal of the sin of Judah, and the crowning of the Messiah in the person of Zerubbabel the governor. (The original text has been changed to put the crown on the head of Joshua the priest.)

Then comes the Golden Age.

Again the word of the Lord of hosts came to me, saying:—"Thus saith the Lord of hosts; I was jealous for Zion with great jealousy, and I was jealous for her with

great fury. Thus saith the Lord; I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and Jerusalem shall be called a city of truth; and the mountain of the Lord of hosts the holy mountain. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for very age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in these days, should it also be marvellous in mine eyes? saith the Lord of hosts. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Behold, I will save my people from the east country, and from the west country; and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days these words by the mouth of the prophets, which were in the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid, that the temple might be built. For before these days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast; neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in because of the affliction: for I set all men every one against his neighbour. But now I will not be unto the residue of this people as in the former days, saith the Lord of hosts. For the seed shall be prosperous; the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things. And it shall come to pass, that as ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel; so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not, but yet your hands be strong. For thus saith the Lord of hosts; As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, saith the Lord of hosts, and I repented not: so again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah: fear ye not. These are the things that ye shall do; Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbor; execute the judg-

ment of truth and peace in your gates: and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord."

And the word of the Lord of hosts came unto me, saying:—"Thus saith the Lord of hosts; The fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; therefore love the truth and peace. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; It shall yet come to pass, that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities: and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you."

The style of *II Zechariah* (9-14) differs from that of the first as the style of Carlyle differs from that of Macaulay. Out of clearness and precision we come at once into obscurity and difficulty. A reference to these chapters in *Matthew* (27:9f) makes Jeremiah their author, and thus indicates a date long before the time of Zechariah. On the other hand a reference in one of the chapters (9:13) to the Greeks as enemies of Israel indicates a date long after Zechariah's time. Probably *I Zechariah* was the last book of the collection of minor prophets, and various oracles of various dates (including *Malachi*) were added to it on the blank space of the parchment roll.

II

1. The book of *Joel* contains no dating references to contemporary history, but the absence from it of Assyrians and Babylonians, and the presence of priests instead of kings and princes, indicate that the prophet belonged to the time of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Joel was moved to interpret the will of God by the national disaster of a plague of locusts. They have devoured the land, like an invading army.

Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand; a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong; there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations. A fire devoureth before them; and behind them a flame burneth: the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; and as horsemen, so shall they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array. Before their face the people shall be much pained: all faces shall gather blackness. They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war; and they shall march every one on his ways, and they shall not break their ranks: neither one shall thrust another; they shall walk every one in his path: and when they fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded. They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like

a thief. The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: and the Lord shall utter his voice before his army: for his camp is very great: for he is strong that executeth his word: for the day of the Lord is great and very terrible; and who can abide it?

Against the locusts, the prophet calls the people to prayer and fasting.

Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him; even a meal offering and a drink offering unto the Lord your God?

Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly: gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet. Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say:—"Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them: wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God?" Then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people. Yea, the Lord will answer and say unto his people:—"Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith."

The locusts are driven away, the rain revives the blighted earth, and the prophet sees a vision of the Golden Age.

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call.

Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles; Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up: beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruninghooks into spears: let the weak say:—"I am strong." Assemble yourselves, and come, all ye heathen, and gather yourselves together round about: thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord. Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the fats overflow; for their wickedness is great. Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision. The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining. The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the Lord will be the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel. So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.

2. Three short stories, *Esther, Ruth* and *Jonah,* show how certain prophets after the exile put their sermons into a literary form akin to that which our

Lord used in his parables. Distant as they are from each other in the arrangement of the books of the Bible, they are connected by their reference to the relation of the Jews to their neighbors and enemies, the Gentiles. The hardships of the exile and of the subsequent oppression had intensified all the natural race antagonism, and this had been further increased by the conviction that the maintenance of this antagonism was the only protection of the Jewish religion against idolatry and immorality. This extended under Ezra and Nehemiah to the prohibition of inter-marriage. Jews who had married Gentiles were compelled to put them away.

This antagonism is exemplified and encouraged in *Esther,* where Xerxes' Jewish queen, discovering a plot laid by the grand vizier, Haman, to destroy her kinsman Mordecai, and all the Jews in Persia with him, not only gets Haman hanged on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, but obtains permission for the Jews to rise and kill their Persian neighbors. This they do with vigor and enthusiasm, slaying more than seventy-five thousand Gentiles. This deliverance is still celebrated, as winter passes into spring, at the feast of Purim, named from the lots (*purim*) with which Haman decided the fate of the Jews from which Esther saved them. At this feast this book is read aloud.

But the story of *Ruth* has for its heroine a Gentile woman from the land of Moab, the widow of a Jew, married again to another Jew, and thereby becoming the ancestress of no less a person than King David.

And the book of *Jonah* is a plainer protest against race prejudice, and hatred of the Gentiles. The author, who had a sense of humor, might have been amused as well as chagrined if he could have foreseen the serious discussion of his great fish from the point of view of ichthyology. Unhappily, the fish, whose proper part in this narrative is confined to two verses (1:17; 2:10), has quite obscured our hero, and hidden from the general mind the fine meaning of the book. Jonah is an exclusive, narrow-minded Jew, who lived in the reign of Jeroboam II (*II Kings* 14:25), and who may have borne in actual life the bad character which is given him in the story; though of this the record in *Kings* says nothing. The purpose of the author is to hold up that kind of man to ridicule and reprobation. Jonah believed that the God of Israel had no jurisdiction outside of Palestine. Desiring to evade a mission to which God called him, he fled the country "from the presence of the Lord." Being stopped by storm and shipwreck, and escaping at the peril of his life, he obeyed when the Lord spoke a second time, and undertook the errand on which he was sent. This was to declare in Nineveh, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." This preaching resulted as Jonah had feared. The city repented of its sins, and its punishment was averted.

And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. But it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry. And he prayed unto the Lord, and said:—"I pray thee,

O Lord, was not this my saying, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I fled before unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil. Therefore now, O Lord, take, I beseech thee, my life from me; for it is better for me to die than to live."

The story ends with the rebuke of the prophet whose only desire for the Gentiles was that the Lord might visit upon them unescapable damnation.

III

The last of the enemies who became masters of the holy land and rulers of the Jews were the Greeks. They came with Alexander when he conquered the country in 332; they were divided after his death into the Greeks of Syria under the Seleucids and the Greeks of Egypt under the Ptolemies; about the year 170, one of the Seleucids, Antiochus Epiphanes, tried to destroy the Jewish religion. He persecuted the Jews, profaned the temple, and desecrated the altar. Out of this calamity came the book of *Daniel.*

The scene of the book is Babylon, and the time is the sixth century, during the exile; but the interest of the writer is not, as in *II Isaiah* and *Ezekiel,* in the deliverance from captivity under the Chaldeans, but in deliverance from the persecution which was carried on, in the second century, by the Greeks. (8:9-14, 23-25; 11:21-45.) That the book (like *Paradise Lost* or *Hamlet*) was not written in the place or at the time of the events which it records is indicated by several

considerations. *Daniel* is found by scholars to contain Persian words which could hardly have come into the language of the Jews before the conquest of the Chaldeans by the Persians (538), and Greek words which could hardly have come into use before the conquest of the Persians by the Greeks (332). *Daniel,* in the Hebrew Bible, is not placed with the other prophets, but among the miscellaneous and later writings at the end. The writer of *Ecclesiasticus,* in the Apocrypha, in his comments on the great men of the past, written about 200, speaks of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets ("the twelve prophets"), but has not a word to say of Daniel; probably because at that time the book of *Daniel* had not been written. It must have been written, however, before the victorious uprising of the Jews against the Greeks, under Judas Maccabeus in 165, for it comes to an end just before that event. The words, "They shall be helped with a little help" (11:34) seem to refer to that revolution at a stage in its beginning when the writer did not know how great that help would prove to be.

This dating of *Daniel* in the second century is not a matter of importance, except as it serves to entitle the writer to a place among the genuine prophets, who were occupied in dealing with the problems of their own time, and in ministering to the people among whom they lived; and except as it serves also to discredit the identification of prophets with fortune-tellers, and to discourage the consulting of the Bible for the idle purpose of discovering what will happen in the future.

The purpose of the prophet who wrote the book of *Daniel* was to give comfort and confidence to his neighbors who were suffering under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. This he did in the first half of the book by a series of stories, and in the second half by a series of visions.

The stories told how in a time when the Jews were oppressed by the Chaldeans, Daniel and his companions who remained true to their religion were saved out of tragic situations. They were thrust into a burning, fiery furnace, and flung into a den of hungry lions, and by the grace of God came out unharmed.

The visions declared that as vast empires of the past had fallen and given place to others, so the vast empire of the persecuting Greeks should fall, and in its place should rise the kingdom of the Lord God, who should reign at last over all the nations of the earth. Strange beasts with horns are symbols of these successive empires, and a "little horn" represents Antiochus whose name it is not safe to mention. Mysterious reckonings of dates are intended to show that the time of deliverance is near at hand. It is to take place seventy weeks (of years) after the restoration of Jerusalem at the return from exile. Sixty-nine such weeks have passed. In the midst of the seventieth week, *i. e.* three and a half years before the promised deliverance, the enemy shall be at his worst. "In the midst of the week, he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate." It is

what Antiochus did when he destroyed the altar of God, and in its place erected an altar to Zeus, the "abomination of desolation." (9:24-27.) But only three and a half years remain of this distress. The prophet counsels faith and patience. The redemption of the people is at hand.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

Thus the last of the Old Testament prophets, writing in the second century before Christ, renews the repeated assurance of his predecessors. In the midst of dire distress, when even hope seems lost, he declares the sure and speedy defeat of all the enemies of God.

XI

THE POETS

I

SOME of the poetry which appears in the pages of the historians and of the prophets is so vaguely related to the circumstances in the midst of which it stands as to suggest that it was originally composed for some other occasion. Thus the *Song of Hannah* (*I Sam.* 2), the Old Testament *Magnificat,* reads like the celebration of a victory in battle.

> My heart rejoiceth in the Lord,
> Mine horn is exalted in the Lord:
> My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies;
> Because I rejoice in thy salvation.
> There is none holy as the Lord;
> For there is none beside thee:
> Neither is there any rock like our God.
> Talk no more so exceeding proudly;
> Let not arrogancy come out of your mouth:
> For the Lord is a God of knowledge,
> And by him actions are weighed.
> The bows of the mighty men are broken,
> And they that stumbled are girded with strength.
> They that were full have hired out themselves for bread;
> And they that were hungry ceased:
> Yea, the barren hath born seven;
> And she that hath many children is waxed feeble.

The Lord killeth, and maketh alive:
He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.
The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich:
He bringeth low, and lifteth up.
He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
He lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill,
To make them sit with princes,
And inherit the throne of glory:
For the pillars of the earth are the Lord's,
And he hath set the world upon them.
He will keep the feet of his saints,
But the wicked shall be silent in darkness;
For by strength shall no man prevail.
The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces;
Out of the heaven shall he thunder upon them:
The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth;
And he shall give strength unto his king,
And exalt the horn of his anointed.

The *Prayer of Jonah,* with its references to the holy temple (*Jonah* 2:2-9), seems to belong rather to the thought of the southern kingdom than the northern, where Jonah lived.

I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord,
And he heard me;
Out of the belly of hell cried I,
And thou heardest my voice.
For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas;
And the floods compassed me about:
All thy billows and thy waves passed over me.
Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight;
Yet I will look again toward thy holy temple.
The waters compassed me about, even to the soul:
The depth closed me round about,
The weeds were wrapped about my head.
I went down to the bottoms of the mountains;

The earth with her bars was about me for ever:
Yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption,
O Lord my God.
When my soul fainted within me I remembered
the Lord:
And my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy
temple.
They that observe lying vanities
Forsake their own mercy.
But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of
thanksgiving;
I will pay that that I have vowed.
Salvation is of the Lord.

The *Ode of Habakkuk* is appended to the book of that prophet rather than vitally connected with it.

O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid:
O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years,
In the midst of the years make it known;
In wrath remember mercy.
God came from Teman,
And the Holy One from mount Paran.
His glory covered the heavens,
And the earth was full of his praise.
And his brightness was as the light;
He had horns coming out of his hand:
And there was the hiding of his power.
Before him went the pestilence,
And burning coals went forth at his feet.
He stood and measured the earth:
He beheld, and drove asunder the nations;
And the everlasting mountains were scattered,
The perpetual hills did bow:
His ways are everlasting.
I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction:
The curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.
Was the Lord displeased against the rivers?
Was thine anger against the rivers?
Was thy wrath against the sea,

That thou didst ride upon thine horses,
Upon thy chariots of salvation?
Thy bow was made quite naked,
The oaths to the tribes were a sure word.

Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers.
The mountains saw thee, and they trembled:
The overflowing of the water passed by:
The deep uttered its voice,
And lifted up its hands on high.
The sun and moon stood still in their habitation:
At the light of thine arrows they went,
And at the shining of thy glittering spear.
Thou didst march through the land in indignation,
Thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.
Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people,
For the salvation of thine anointed;
Thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked,
By discovering the foundation unto the neck.

Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his warriors;
They came out as a whirlwind to scatter me:
Their rejoicing was as to devour the poor secretly.
Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses,
Through the heap of great waters.
When I heard, my belly trembled;
My lips quivered at the voice:
Rottenness entered into my bones, and I trembled in myself;
That I might rest in the day of trouble,
When he that shall invade them in troops cometh up against the people.
Although the fig tree shall not blossom,
Neither shall fruit be in the vines;
The labour of the olive shall fail,
And the fields shall yield no meat;
The flock shall be cut off from the fold,
And there shall be no herd in the stalls:

Yet I will rejoice in the Lord,
I will joy in the God of my salvation.
The Lord God is my strength,
And he will make my feet like hinds' feet,
And he will make me to walk upon mine high places.

The absence of rhyme and meter from Hebrew poetry, and the occasional indistinctness of the parallelism which is its characteristic form, blur the distinction between verse and eloquent and imaginative prose. This appears often in the prophets, especially in *II Isaiah,* part of which is plainly poetry in form as well as in thought, and most of which is poetical in thought even when the form looks like prose.

Of the five Old Testament books which are written in poetry, two—*Proverbs* and *Job*—belong also to the literature of Wisdom. The other three,—*Lamentations,* the *Song of Solomon* and the *Psalms,*—are collections of lyrics.

II

The statement of the Chronicler (*II Chron.* 35:25) that "Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations; and behold they are written in the *Lamentations,*" led Jewish critics to ascribe to Jeremiah the book which bears that name, and to apply these poems to the tragedy of the defeat and death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo. But the poems are anonymous, and they seem to have been occasioned by the supreme tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem. Four

of these five elegies are alphabetical acrostics; *i. e.* each of them consists of twenty-two portions, or strophes, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In the first and second each strophe consists of three lines, and the first strophe begins with a word whose initial letter is the Hebrew *A*, the second strophe begins with *B* and so on down; so in the fourth poem, except that each verse contains two lines instead of three; in the third there are sixty-six lines, the first three beginning with *A* in Hebrew, the second with *B*. In spite of this mechanical arrangement these dirges are filled with pathos and passion which seem to know no limitation of restraint.

The holy city is deserted.

How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people!
How is she become as a widow!
She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces,
How is she become tributary!
She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks:
Among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her:
All her friends have dealt treacherously with her,
They are become her enemies.
Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude:
She dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest:
All her persecutors overtook her between the straits.
The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts:
All her gates are desolate, her priests sigh;
Her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness.
Her adversaries are the chief, her enemies prosper:

For the Lord hath afflicted her for the multitude of her transgressions:
Her children are gone into captivity before the enemy.
And from the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed:
Her princes are become like harts that find no pasture,
And they are gone without strength before the pursuer.
Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?
Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me,
Wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.
From above hath he sent fire into my bones, and it prevaileth against them:
He hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back:
He hath made me desolate and faint all the day.
The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand:
They are wreathed, and come up upon my neck: he hath made my strength to fall,
The Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to rise up.
The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me:
He hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men:
The Lord hath trodden the virgin, the daughter of Judah, as in a winepress.
For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water,
Because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me:
My children are desolate, because the enemy prevailed.

The second elegy, in the bitterness of its spirit, and in the vividness of its descriptions of the misery of the besieged city, may have been written by one who had himself shared in these experiences.

These five poems are recited every Friday afternoon at the "Jews' wailing place" in Jerusalem, and once a year, on a day in August, in every synagogue.

There is a note of hope in the third poem.

Remember mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall.
My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me.
This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope.
It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.
They are new every morning: great is thy faithfulness.
The Lord is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in him.
The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him.
It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.
It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.
He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath laid it upon him.
He putteth his mouth in the dust; if so be there may be hope.
He giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him: he is filled full with reproach.
For the Lord will not cast off for ever:
But though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies.
For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men.

But for the most part the grief of *Lamentations* is beyond the expectation of comfort.

Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us:
Consider, and behold our reproach.
Our inheritance is turned to strangers,

Our houses to aliens.
We are orphans and fatherless,
Our mothers are as widows.

Woe unto us, that we have sinned!
For this our heart is faint;
For these things our eyes are dim.
Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate,
The foxes walk upon it.
Thou, O Lord, remainest for ever;
Thy throne from generation to generation.
Wherefore dost thou forget us for ever,
And forsake us so long time?
Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned;
Renew our days as of old.
But thou hast utterly rejected us:
Thou art very wroth against us.

III

The difference between *Lamentations* and the *Song of Solomon* is like the difference between a funeral and a wedding. This book is a collection of love-songs. It was brought into the Hebrew Bible by an interpretation which made it an allegory in which the lovers were God and the soul. It was kept in the Christian Bible by a similar interpretation which saw in the lovers Christ and the Church. Of all this, however, there is no trace in the book. The lovers are a Syrian man and woman, and their love is such as appears in the idyls of Theocritus and in the odes of Horace.

The presence of dialogue in these poems suggested a theory which made the book a play or an opera. The heroine is called the Shulamite (6:13) because she

comes from the village of Shunem whence came the fair Abishag (*I Kings* 1:3) to the court of David and Solomon. One of the heroes is Solomon, who appears upon the scene in the third chapter, carried in his palanquin, surrounded by his body-guard, and welcomed by the ladies of Jerusalem.

Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars
of smoke,
Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense,
With all powders of the merchant?
Behold his bed, which is Solomon's;
Threescore valiant men are about it,
Of the valiant of Israel.
They all hold swords, being expert in war:
Every man hath his sword upon his thigh
Because of fear in the night.
King Solomon made himself a chariot
Of the wood of Lebanon.
He made the pillars thereof of silver,
The bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple,
The midst thereof being paved with love,
For the daughters of Jerusalem.
Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon
With the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in
the day of his espousals,
And in the day of the gladness of his heart.

Another hero is a shepherd lover, to whom the Shulamite remains faithful in the midst of the blandishments of the royal harem, preferring him to Solomon. This theory demands the use of much ingenuity and imagination, but any opera or play would be obscure if it had no stage directions, and did not indicate who said this, and who said that.

A study of the marriage customs of Syrian peasants has suggested another theory. For a week the wedding festivities continue, and the bride and groom, saluted as king and queen, and seated on an improvised throne, listen to songs sung in celebration of their love. The book may be a collection of such nuptial songs. It has not been found, however, that the groom on such occasions calls himself Solomon, neither do the verses fit the conditions very closely. The verses themselves seem too carefully adorned and polished for a peasant wedding.

Whatever the complete design into which these gems were fitted by the poet, they still shine as single jewels in the radiance of their own beauty. They were not meant to adorn an altar: there is no "religion" in the book. But they were made to beautify a wedding, and are in honor of that natural human love of man and woman upon which religion has sometimes cast discredit. In the sight of this love "the world's at the spring."

"Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
For, lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;
The fig tree putteth forth her green figs,
And the vines with the tender grape give a good smell.
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.
O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the covert
of the steep place,
Let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice;
For sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely."

Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines:
For our vines have tender grapes.
My beloved is mine, and I am his:
He feedeth among the lilies.

Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse,
With me from Lebanon:
Look from the top of Amana,
From the top of Shenir and Hermon,
From the lions' dens,
From the mountains of the leopards.
Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse;
Thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes,
With one chain of thy neck.
How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse!
How much better is thy love than wine!
And the smell of thine ointments than all spices!
Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb:
Honey and milk are under thy tongue;
And the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.
A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse;
A spring shut up, a fountain sealed.
Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits;
Camphire, with spikenard,
Spikenard and saffron;
Calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense;
Myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices:
A fountain of gardens,
A well of living waters,
And streams from Lebanon.

Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south;
Blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out.
Let my beloved come into his garden,
And eat his pleasant fruits.
Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm:

For love is strong as death;
Jealousy is cruel as the grave:
The coals thereof are coals of fire,
Which hath a most vehement flame.
Many waters cannot quench love,
Neither can the floods drown it:
If a man would give all the substance of his house for love,
It would utterly be contemned.

IV

The music of the *Song of Solomon* is heard again in one of the *Psalms* (45.) The occasion is a royal wedding. The poet begins with a word of introduction.

My heart is inditing a good matter:
I speak of the things which I have made touching the king:
My tongue is the pen of a ready writer.

He addresses the royal bridegroom:

Thou art fairer than the children of men:
Grace is poured into thy lips:
Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.
Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty,
With thy glory and thy majesty.
And in thy majesty ride prosperously,
Because of truth and meekness and righteousness;
And thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.
Thine arrows are sharp;—peoples fall under thee;
They are in the heart of the king's enemies.
Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever:
The sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.
Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness:

Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee
With the oil of gladness above thy fellows.
All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia,
Out of the ivory palaces music hath made thee glad.
Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women:
Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir.

Then the royal bride:

Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear;
Forget also thine own people, and thy father's house;
So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty:
For he is thy Lord; and worship thou him.
And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift;
Even the rich among the people shall intreat thy favour.

He describes the wedding procession:

The king's daughter is all glorious within:
Her clothing is of wrought gold.
She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needlework:
The virgins her companions that follow her
Shall be brought unto thee.
With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought:
They shall enter into the king's palace.

The poet adds a word in conclusion:

Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children,
Whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.
I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations:
Therefore shall the people praise thee for ever and ever.

Here, indeed, are myrrh, aloes and cassia, and clothing of wrought gold, and music heard in ivory palaces, but the tone of this wedding anthem is quite different from anything in the *Song of Solomon.* The hero and heroine are thought of as king and queen, not as man and woman; and instead of love we have dignity and official responsibility, truth and meekness and righteousness. This is characteristic of all of the *Psalms,* which are poems of religion.

The grief and tragic perplexity of *Lamentations* is found in some of the *Psalms;* but these poets are not in despair, they have hope and faith, they have found a solution of the problem of pain.

Fret not thyself because of evildoers,
Neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity.
For they shall soon be cut down like the grass,
And wither as the green herb.

Trust in the Lord, and do good;
So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.
Delight thyself also in the Lord;
And he shall give thee the desires of thine heart.
Commit thy way unto the Lord;
Trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.
And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light,
And thy judgment as the noonday.
Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him:
Fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way,
Because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass.
Cease from anger, and forsake wrath:
Fret not thyself in any wise to do evil.
For evildoers shall be cut off:
But those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth.

For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be:
Yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be.
But the meek shall inherit the earth;
And shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.

Even when the situation is like that which is bewailed in *Lamentations,* there is still the expectation that God will come in his mighty power to the relief of the faithful. The *Seventy-fourth Psalm* seems to have been written when Antiochus Epiphanes was making that attempt to destroy the Jewish religion which gave occasion for the book of *Daniel.* The people are in deep distress, the holy temple is beaten down and burned.

O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever?
Why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture?
Remember thy congregation, which thou has purchased of old;
The rod of thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed;
This mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt.
Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations;
All that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.
Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations;
They set up their ensigns for signs.
It seems as though one lifted up on high
Axes against the thickets of the wood.
And now they break down the carved work thereof at once
With axes and hammers.
They have cast fire into thy sanctuary,
They have defiled the dwelling place of thy name to the ground.
They said in their hearts:—"Let us destroy them together:"

They have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land.
We see not our signs:
There is no more any prophet:
Neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.
O God, how long shall the adversary reproach?
Shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?
Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand?
Pluck it out of thy bosom.

But the Lord God is the maker and ruler of the earth.

For God is my King of old,
Working salvation in the midst of the earth.
Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength:
Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters.
Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces,
And gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.
Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood:
Thou driedst up mighty rivers.
The day is thine, the night also is thine:
Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.
Thou hast set all the borders of the earth:
Thou hast made summer and winter.

To him we make our prayer.

Remember this, that the enemy hath reproached, O Lord,
And that the foolish people have blasphemed thy name.
O deliver not the soul of thy turtledove unto the greedy multitude:
Forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever.
Have respect unto the covenant:
For the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.
O let not the oppressed return ashamed:

Let the poor and needy praise thy name.
Arise, O God, plead thine own cause:
Remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily.
Forget not the voice of thine enemies:
The tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually.

The book of *Psalms* is in five volumes, the end of each being marked by a doxology. Thus after the *Forty-first Psalm.*

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
From everlasting, and to everlasting.
Amen, and Amen.

And after the *Seventy-second Psalm.*

Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel,
Who only doeth wondrous things.
And blessed be his glorious name for ever:
And let the whole earth be filled with his glory;
Amen, and Amen.

A like doxology closes the *Eighty-ninth* and the *One-hundred-and-sixth Psalms;* the *One-hundred-and-fiftieth Psalm* is itself a doxology.

The First Book is made up mainly of Personal Lyrics. Whether as speaking the thoughts of his own experience, or as representing the mind of his people, the psalmist is in soliloquy. The Second Book is made up largely of National Lyrics. This is true also of the Third Book. In these poems the writer deals with the glories and with the distresses of the nation. In the Fourth and in the Fifth Books there are Liturgical

Lyrics, related to the service of the temple, or to occasions of fasts and festivals.

Behind these five collections scholars find traces of older hymn-books out of which they were made. These are indicated in the names of Asaph, of Korah, and of David.

In the description of the service at the dedication of the restored temple after the exile (*Ezra* 3:10) the "sons of Asaph" are in the choir. "When the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the Lord, after the ordinance of David king of Israel, and they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever toward Israel." (Compare *Ps.* 136.) The sons of Korah, the Korhites (*II Chron.* 20:19) are mentioned in the reign of Jehoshaphat as those who "stood up to praise the Lord God of Israel with a loud voice on high." Ethan is spoken of as a singer (*I Chron.* 15:19) in a description of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem: "So the singers, Heman, Asaph and Ethan were appointed to sound with cymbals of brass." In the Second Book, 42-49 are entitled "of the sons of Korah." The inference is that there were collections of psalms in use by different guilds of singers in the second temple, that some psalms were taken into the Second Book from the Korah book, and others from the Korah book and from the Asaph book were used to make the Third Book. The title "of the Chief Musician," in a number of psalms, may indicate an-

other collection; also the title "Psalms of Ascents" (120-134).

The collection from which the largest number of psalms were taken (seventy-three in all) is entitled "of David." Probably this title, as in the case of Asaph and Korah, refers to a hymn-book of that name. The use of the name accords, indeed, with the account of David as a skilful player on the harp, and as a composer of poems in honor of Saul and of Abner; and Jewish editors have noted in the case of a number of the psalms a statement of the circumstances under which they believed David to have written them. It would be pleasant to hear the voice of David the shepherd in the *Twenty-third Psalm,* and of David the penitent in the *Fifty-First.* For the most part, however, these traditions are of little value, and add nothing to our understanding of the psalms. In this respect the Hebrew psalms are like the Christian hymns, which are sung for their own sake, their authorship being of interest only to literary persons for literary reasons.

Musical directions accompanying many of the psalms show that they were intended to be sung, sometimes with stringed instruments, as the harp, *neginoth* (4, 6, and others), sometimes with wind instruments, as the flute or the trumpet, *nehiloth* (5). Instruments of percussion, as cymbals, are often mentioned. In some cases the tunes are given: "the hind of the morning" (22) "the lilies" (45). Thus they were sung in the temple, for whose service, after the exile, the various collections were brought together, old and new, to make the completed book.

Some of the psalms are alphabet acrostics, notably the *One-hundred-and-nineteenth,* each of whose first eight verses begins with the Hebrew *A,* the next with *B.* As in all collections of hymns, some are better than others, in interest, in literary form, in the ideas which they express. In some psalms the poet curses his enemies (58, 69); in some he speaks without expectation of individual immortality: "In death there is no remembrance of thee" (6:5), "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee? Shall it declare thy truth?" (30:9). So devout, however, is the spirit of the *Psalms,* so filled with the consciousness of God, with the sense of sin and of the divine pardon of the penitent, with the inevitable grief of life and with the divine compassion, that Christians as well as Jews find in them the expression of their own praise and prayer.

XII

THE WISE MEN

WHEN the hero of the book of *Job* is in the midst of his misfortunes, and his distress is increased by the distrust and disrespect of his neighbors, he recalls the departed happiness of the days when his fellow-citizens honored him as a Wise Man.

Oh that I were as in months past,
As in the days when God preserved me;
When his candle shined upon my head,
And when by his light I walked through darkness;
As I was in the days of my youth,
When the secret of God was upon my tabernacle;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
When my children were about me;
When I washed my steps with butter,
And the rock poured me out rivers of oil;
When I went out to the gate through the city,
When I prepared my seat in the street!
The young men saw me, and hid themselves:
And the aged arose, and stood up.
The princes refrained talking,
And laid their hand on their mouth.
The nobles held their peace,
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
When the ear heard me, then it blessed me;
And when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me:
Because I delivered the poor that cried,
And the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.

The blessing of him that was ready to perish came
upon me:
And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
I put on righteousness, and it clothed me:
My judgment was as a robe and a diadem.
I was eyes to the blind,
And feet was I to the lame.
I was a father to the poor:
And the cause which I knew not I searched out.
And I brake the jaws of the wicked,
And plucked the spoil out of his teeth.
Then I said, "I shall die in my nest,
And I shall multiply my days as the sand.
My root is spread out by the waters,
And the dew lieth all night upon my branch.
My glory is fresh in me,
And my bow is renewed in my hand."
Unto me men gave ear, and waited,
And kept silence at my counsel.
After my words they spake not again;
And my speech dropped upon them.
And they waited for me as for the rain;
And they opened their mouth wide as for the latter
rain.
If I laughed on them, they believed it not;
And the light of my countenance they cast not down.
I chose out their way, and sat chief,
And dwelt as a king in the army,
As one that comforteth the mourners.

The intimate and leisurely conditions of oriental life gave opportunity to the Wise Man. The men of the neighborhood met every day at the village gate, and there sat and talked. They discussed the infinite aspects of human life, and added appropriate morals to the narratives of local events. The seniors gave the juniors good advice. Each community had its own oracle, who held his place, in part by virtue of his

years, but chiefly because of his gifts of observation and expression. Such philosophers, under like conditions, were influential in the early history of New England. It accounts, in some measure, for the similarity between the *Proverbs* and the shrewd sayings of *Poor Richard's Almanac.*

The Wise Men did not lay claim to any special inspiration. The chapters of their collected sayings do not begin with the prophetic formula, "Thus saith the Lord." Whatever wisdom they had came from experience, and consisted in their understanding of human nature. Their philosophy was practical, rather than speculative. They looked out rather than in, and did not concern themselves with the processes of thinking. They did not watch the workings of their minds. Their interest was not in the abstract, but in the concrete. They cared for things, not for the "thingness of things."

I

The wisdom of the Wise Men appears in its simplest form in the book of *Proverbs,* which is composed of several collections of wise sayings. It opens with the Praise of Wisdom.

My son, forget not my law;
But let thine heart keep my commandments:
For length of days, and long life,
And peace, shall they add to thee.
Let not mercy and truth forsake thee:
Bind them about thy neck;
Write them upon the table of thine heart:
So shalt thou find favour and good understanding

In the sight of God and man.
Trust in the Lord with all thine heart;
And lean not unto thine own understanding.
In all thy ways acknowledge him,
And he shall direct thy paths.
Be not wise in thine own eyes:
Fear the Lord, and depart from evil.

Happy is the man that findeth wisdom,
And the man that getteth understanding.
For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver,
And the gain thereof than fine gold.
She is more precious than rubies:
And all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her.
Length of days is in her right hand;
And in her left hand riches and honour.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace.
She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her:
And happy is every one that retaineth her.

Then the proverbs begin, with the tenth chapter. First, the *Proverbs of Solomon,* ascribed to him, or collected by him, or assembled under the patronage of his great name; like the *Psalms of David.* Then the *Words of the Wise,* (22:17). Here the poetic form changes from the couplet to the double couplet.

Bow down thine ear, and hear the words of the wise,
And apply thine heart unto my knowledge.
For it is a pleasant thing if thou keep them within thee;
They shall withal be fitted in thy lips.

Rob not the poor, because he is poor:
Neither oppress the afflicted in the gate:
For the Lord will plead their cause,
And spoil the soul of those that spoiled them.

Make no friendship with an angry man;
And with a furious man thou shalt not go:
Lest thou learn his ways,
And get a snare to thy soul.

With an added group, entitled, "These are also the Sayings of the Wise" (24:23). And after this, another collection with the heading (25:1). "These are also *Proverbs of Solomon* which the men of Hezekiah copied out." The next-to-the-last chapter contains the *Words of Agur;* and the last chapter begins with the *Words of Lemuel,* and ends with the poem of the *Industrious Housewife.*

The wisdom of the Wise Men, as it is recorded in this book, is independent of time and place. The fact that nobody knows anything about Agur or Lemuel does not detract from the sayings which appear under their names. The prayer of Agur is commended not by its authorship but by its own modest spirit.

Two things have I required of thee;
Deny me them not before I die:
Remove far from me vanity and lies:
Give me neither poverty nor riches;
Feed me with food convenient for me:
Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say:—
"Who is the Lord?"
Or lest I be poor, and steal,
And take the name of my God in vain.

The curious advice of the mother of King Lemuel would be no less curious if we knew when or where he reigned. The "upper classes," she says, should be total abstainers; but the "lower classes" need the solace of strong drink.

It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to
drink wine;
Nor for princes strong drink;
Lest they drink, and forget the law,
And pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted.
Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish,
And wine unto those that be of heavy hearts.
Let him drink, and forget his poverty,
And remember his misery no more.

Likewise, the name of Solomon brings no interpretation to the proverbs which are ascribed to him. Not one of them would gain anything by a decision of scholars that Solomon wrote every one of them with his own hand. Not one of them would lose anything by a decision of scholars to date them in the second century B. C. Some, no doubt, are very old, and may have long preceded Solomon; others are not so old; but they all agree in a certain quality of timelessness which is due to the fact that they are concerned with our unchanging human nature.

For example, there is neither early nor late, nor east nor west, in the descriptions which the Proverbs give of the sluggard.

The slothful man saith:—"There is a lion in the way;
A lion is in the streets."
As the door turneth upon its hinges,
So doth the slothful upon his bed.
The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom;
It grieveth him to bring it again to his mouth.
The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit
Than seven men that can render a reason.

Go to the ant, thou sluggard;
Consider her ways, and be wise:
Which having no guide,

Overseer, or ruler,
Provideth her meat in the summer,
And gathereth her food in the harvest.
How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard?
When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?
Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep:
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man.

And again, with the same refrain.

I went by the field of the slothful,
And by the vineyard of the man void of understanding;
And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns,
And nettles had covered the face thereof,
And the stone wall thereof was broken down.
Then I saw, and considered it well:
I looked upon it, and received instruction.
Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep:
So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth;
And thy want as an armed man.

The fool who scorns instruction and reproof; the tale-bearer who destroys the peace of neighborhoods; the rich who oppress the poor; the merchant whose balances are false and his weights deceitful; the buyer who said "It is naught, it is naught, but when he is gone his way, he boasteth;" these universal persons the Wise Men notice, sometimes with indignation, sometimes with contemptuous amusement.

The Wise Man is emphatic in his reprobation of strong drink.

Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging:
And whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.

Hear thou, my son, and be wise,
And guide thine heart in the way.
Be not among winebibbers;
Among riotous eaters of flesh:
For the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty:
And drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags.

Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions?
Who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause?
Who hath redness of eyes?
They that tarry long at the wine;
They that go to seek mixed wine.
Look not thou upon the wine when it is red,
When it giveth its colour in the cup,
When it goeth down smoothly.
At the last it biteth like a serpent,
And stingeth like an adder.

The Wise Man addresses himself to men. "My son," he says; never taking into account his wife or his daughter. For the most part, in the Proverbs, women are regarded as temptations or as vexations. There is abundant warning against immoral women, and there are many impatient and amusing remarks about contentious women. At the same time, the advice of mothers is put on a level of value with the advice of fathers, and the book ends with a poem (another alphabet acrostic) in praise of a good woman.

Who can find a virtuous woman?
For her price is far above rubies.
The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her,
So that he shall have no need of spoil.

She will do him good and not evil
All the days of her life.
She seeketh wool, and flax,
And worketh willingly with her hands.
She is like the merchants' ships;
She bringeth her food from afar.
She riseth also while it is yet night,
And giveth meat to her household
And a portion to her maidens.
She considereth a field, and buyeth it:
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.
She girdeth her loins with strength,
And strengtheneth her arms.
She perceiveth that her merchandise is good:
Her candle goeth not out by night.
She layeth her hands to the spindle,
And her hands hold the distaff.
She stretcheth out her hand to the poor;
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.
She is not afraid of the snow for her household:
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.
She maketh herself coverings of tapestry;
Her clothing is silk and purple.
Her husband is known in the gates,
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.
She maketh fine linen, and selleth it;
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.
Strength and honour are her clothing;
And she shall rejoice in time to come.
She openeth her mouth with wisdom;
And in her tongue is the law of kindness.
She looketh well to the ways of her household,
And eateth not the bread of idleness.
Her children arise up, and call her blessed;
Her husband also, and he praiseth her.
Many daughters have done virtuously,
But thou excellest them all.
Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain:
But a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.

Give her of the fruit of her hands;
And let her own works praise her in the gates.

The counsels of the Wise Men are expressed in terms of piety, but also in terms of prudence. Their philosophy of life is that of *Deuteronomy*: they who do ill shall suffer for it, they who do well shall have the blessing of prosperity.

Fear the Lord, and depart from evil.
It shall be health to thy navel,
And marrow to thy bones.
Honour the Lord with thy substance,
And with the firstfruits of all thine increase:
So shall thy barns be filled with plenty,
And thy presses shall burst out with new wine.

The difficulty with this philosophy is that it is contradicted by experience: not by experience in general, for on the whole our happiness and unhappiness are fairly proportioned to our deserts; but by experience in particular, by such an amount of exception to the Wise Man's rule of life to bring us into grave doubt about it. Concerning the virtues which are emphasized in the *Proverbs* we may say with assurance that they lead normally to prosperity and peace; but not always. Sometimes the saint comes tragically short of his logical reward. It is to this perplexity that the Wise Men address themselves in two other books of Wisdom, *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*. In *Job*, the good man is deprived of all the good things of life; in *Ecclesiastes*, he has them all to the full, but they do not give him satisfaction.

II

The writer of *Ecclesiastes* begins his book with the apparent intention of impersonating the chief of all the Wise Men, King Solomon: "The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem." Thus, speaking as Solomon, (as Browning, for example, in *A Death in the Desert,* speaks as the Apostle John,) and looking back from the quiet of retirement upon a reign now ended ("I *was* king over Israel in Jerusalem") he recalls the splendors of his court.

I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards: I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees: I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me: I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces: I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts. So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem: also my wisdom remained with me. And whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy; for my heart rejoiced in all my labour: and this was my portion of all my labour. Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun.

At this point, however, the writer abandons the mask of Solomon, and speaks thenceforward for himself. He had represented Solomon as having abdicated his

royal state, a surrender of which there is no trace in history; and he had made him say, "I have gotten me more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem," a remark which seems to imply an occupation of that city by several generations of ancestors, instead of by his father only, who took it from the Jebusites. The relation of Solomon to the succeeding chapters is as remote as that of a pictured saint in an illuminated missal to the psalm of the Breviary which he is made to decorate.

The Preacher, as he calls himself, has lived long enough to be able to write with sympathetic understanding of the weakness of old age.

Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment. Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh: for childhood and youth are vanity. Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say:—"I have no pleasure in them;" while the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain: in the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened, and the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low; also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go

about the streets: or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it. Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity.

Thus he repeats for the last time the recurring refrain of the book. His subject is the emptiness of human life. He begins by declaring that life is hopelessly monotonous. There is nothing new under the sun.

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to its place where it arose. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to its circuits. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again. All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said:—"See, this is new"? it hath been already of old time, which was before us. There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

He has had experience, he says, of success, and of riches, and of reputation, and of wisdom, and they are all vanity and vexation of spirit. In an interesting

passage, which may explain in some measure the bitterness of his soul, he says that even love has failed him.

I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her. Behold, this have I found, saith the Preacher, counting one by one, to find out the account: which yet my soul seeketh, but I find not: one man among a thousand have I found; but a woman among all those have I not found. Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.

He is so vehement in his repeated denials of the doctrine of a future life as to suggest that that assertion of the discrimination of God was new in his time, and that one of his purposes in writing was to contradict it.

Then said I in my heart:—"As it happeneth to the fool, so it happeneth even to me; and why was I then more wise?" Then I said in my heart, that this also is vanity. For there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; seeing that which now is in the days to come shall all be forgotten. And how dieth the wise man? as the fool. Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun is grievous unto me: for all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

Thus *Ecclesiastes* is a depressing book; more so than *Lamentations*: for that is an expression of grief over the fall of a city, but this is an expression of grief over the state of man for whom, beyond this life, there is no hope.

At the same time, there is another side to the book. Vanity of vanities, says the Preacher; but he says also:

Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works. Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity: for that is thy portion in this life, and in thy labour which thou takest under the sun. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.

And this he repeats again and again. Also, denying that God makes any difference between the saint and the sinner, the wise man and the fool, he nevertheless asserts that God does make a difference, and he looks to see this difference made clear in the life to come.

Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil. Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him: but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God.

I have seen the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it. He hath made every

thing beautiful in its time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end. I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God. I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever: nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: and God doeth it, that men should fear before him. That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past.

And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there. I said in mine heart:— "God shall judge the righteous and the wicked: for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work."

And so, in other places.

These contradictions have been explained by the theory of interpolation. The idea is that this book of denial and despair has been made readable for devout people by writing into it good words of hope and cheer. Or perhaps the writer thus expresses his own divided mind: now he calls the chess-board black, now white; now faith, now doubt, dominates his spirit. Anyhow, the two voices are those which are heard in the souls of all reflective persons. The general meaning of the book is on the side of courage. Admitting the emptiness of life, and greatly doubting the correction of its inequalities in any other life, still the pessimist is not in despair. He summons his soul to make the best of the world as it is. The premises are those of Omar Khayyam, but the conclusion is altogether different. This is a hard and bad world, far from our heart's

desire, offensive to our sense of justice: so the Preacher says, out of his own experience. But it is God's world, nevertheless, he says, and our duty in it is to fear God and keep his commandments.

III

The book of *Job* takes the world the other way around. The good man, who in *Ecclesiastes* is in a state of prosperity which he finds monotonous and empty, is here in dire adversity. He has lost his property, his children and his health. In what spirit shall he live in a world which is now only a place of pain?

At first, in the prose prologue, he meets the beginning of his troubles with courageous resignation: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." As his misery increases, his faith rises to meet it: "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" But the opening of the poem discovers him lamenting that he was ever born.

Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night which said, There is a man child conceived.
Let that day be darkness;
Let not God regard it from above,
Neither let the light shine upon it.
Let darkness and the shadow of death claim it;
Let a cloud dwell upon it;
Let the blackness of the day terrify it.
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not be joined unto the days of the year,

Let it not come into the number of the months.
Lo, let that night be barren,
Let no joyful voice come therein.
Let them curse it that curse the day,
Them that are skilled to rouse up the dragon.
Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark;
Let it look for light, but have none;
Neither let it see the eyelids of the morning:
Because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb,
Nor hid sorrow from mine eyes.
Why died I not from the womb?
Why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly?
Why did the knees receive me?
Or why the breasts that I should suck?
For now should I have lain still and been quiet,
I should have slept: then had I been at rest,
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Which built desolate places for themselves;
Or with princes that had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver:
Or as an hidden untimely birth I had not been;
As infants which never saw light.
There the wicked cease from raging;
And there the weary be at rest.
There the prisoners rest together;
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
The small and great are there;
And the servant is free from his master.

Meanwhile, three friends have come to comfort him, Eliphaz, and Bildad and Zophar. The poem takes dramatic form. There are three cycles of speeches; Job speaks, then Eliphaz; Job speaks again, then Bildad; Job again speaks, then Zophar (3-11); so a second time (12-20), and a third time (21-31), except that in the third cycle Zophar does not speak. In the

place of Zophar appears a stranger, a youth named Elihu, who after long apologies for speaking, speaks at great length (32-37).

Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar and Elihu agree in charging Job with sin. They explain his situation in terms of Deuteronomy. He who obeys God is blessed. If man is in misfortune; if, like Job, he loses his money or his health; the fact shows that he has offended God.

Eliphaz says:

If we assay to commune with thee, wilt thou be grieved?
But who can withhold himself from speaking?
Behold, thou hast instructed many,
And thou hast strengthened the weak hands.
Thy words have upholden him that was falling,
And thou hast strengthened the feeble knees.
But now it is come upon thee, and thou faintest;
It toucheth thee, and thou art troubled.
Is not thy fear of God thy confidence?
And thy hope, is it not the perfection of thy ways?
Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent?
Or where were the righteous cut off?
Even as I have seen, they that plow iniquity,
And sow wickedness, reap the same.
By the blast of God they perish,
And by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed.

Bildad says:

How long wilt thou speak these things?
And how long shall the words of thy mouth be like a strong wind?
Doth God pervert judgment?
Or doth the Almighty pervert justice?
If thy children have sinned against him,

And he have let them go into the hand of their transgression;
If thou wouldest seek unto God betimes,
And make thy supplication to the Almighty;
If thou wert pure and upright;
Surely now he would awake for thee,
And make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous.

Zophar says:

Should not the multitude of words be answered?
And should a man full of talk be justified?
Should thy boastings make men hold their peace?
And when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed?
For thou hast said, "My doctrine is pure,
And I am clean in thine eyes."
But oh that God would speak,
And open his lips against thee;
And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom,
That they are wonderful in sound knowledge!
Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth.

Elihu says:

Job hath said, "I am righteous:
And God hath taken away my judgment.
Should I lie against my right?
My wound is incurable without transgression."
What man is like Job,
Who drinketh up scorning like water?
Which goeth in company with the workers of iniquity,
And walketh with wicked men.
For he hath said, "It profiteth a man nothing,
That he should delight himself with God."
Therefore hearken unto me, ye men of understanding:

Far be it from God, that he should do wickedness;
And from the Almighty, that he should commit iniquity.
For the work of a man shall he render unto him,
And cause every man to find according to his ways.
Yea, surely God will not do wickedly,
Neither will the Almighty pervert judgment.

These accusations are repeated, with differences and digression, but without much progress in the argument or distinction between the speakers, through the three cycles. Job, in reply, maintains his innocence. He can not explain the meaning of the distress which has befallen him, but he knows in the integrity of his soul that the explanation of his friends is wrong. The Deuteronomic solution of the problem of pain may interpret a great part of the prosperity and adversity of human life, but it does not interpret the experience of Job.

Thus Job answers:

Oh that my impatience were but weighed,
And my calamity laid in the balances together!
For now it would be heavier than the sand of the sea:
Therefore have my words been wild.
For the arrows of the Almighty are within me,
The poison whereof my spirit drinketh in:
The terrors of God do set themselves in array against me.

How forcible are words of uprightness!
But what doth your arguing reprove?
Do ye imagine to reprove words?
Though the speeches of one that is desperate go into the wind.

Yea, ye would cast lots upon the fatherless,
And bargain over your friend.
Now, therefore, be pleased to look upon me,
I will not surely lie to your face!
Turn, I pray you, let there be no injustice;
Turn again, my cause is righteous.

I will give free course to my complaint;
I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.
I will say unto God, "Do not condemn me;
Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me."
Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress,
That thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands.
And shine upon the counsel of the wicked?
Hast thou eyes of flesh?
Or seest thou as man seeth?
Are thy days as the days of man?
Are thy years as man's days,
That thou enquirest after mine iniquity,
And searchest after my sin?
Thou knowest that I am not wicked;
And there is none that can deliver out of thine hand.
Thine hands have made me and fashioned me
Together round about; yet thou dost destroy me!

And I desire to reason with God.
But ye are forgers of lies,
Ye are all physicians of no value.
O that ye would altogether hold your peace!
And it should be your wisdom.
Hear now my reasoning,
And hearken to the pleadings of my lips.
Will ye speak wickedly for God?
And talk deceitfully for him?
Will ye be partisans for him?
Will ye contend for God?
Is it good that he should search you out?
Or as one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him?
He will surely reprove you,
If ye do secretly accept persons.

Shall not his excellency make you afraid?
And his dread fall upon you?
Your remembrances shall be proverbs of ashes,
Your defences defences of dust.
Hold your peace, let me alone, that I may speak,
And let come on me what will.
Wherefore should I take my flesh in my teeth,
And put my life in mine hand?
Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.

In these words the book of *Job* attains its supreme spiritual height. Presently God speaks from the clouds, but though he rebukes the accusers of Job he discloses no interpretation of the fact of pain, and suggests no consolation beyond that which may be found in submission to his will, trusting in his wisdom which passes all understanding. In the prose epilogue Job is again blessed with prosperity, and has twice as many sheep and cattle, and sons and daughters, as he had before.

The mention of Job in *Ezekiel* (14:14, 20) between Noah and Daniel gives him no date, except to suggest that the poem refers to an ancient tradition. The simplicity of the scene would befit a contemporary of Noah; but the complexity of the thought would be appropriate to a contemporary of Daniel. In the nature of the profound problem which is presented, and in the sublime poetic art which sets this book among the greatest in the literature of the world, it would appear to belong to a late period of the experience of Israel. It may well belong to that Golden Century when Æschylus, and Sophocles and Euripides were studying the same problem in Athens.

In the mind of the writer of the book the problem

was probably more than the perplexity of a good man in distress: it was the perplexity of a good nation. It sums up the lesson of the long history, and of all the teachings of the prophets and the poets. The Old Testament is a tragedy. The hero is the People of God, coming as a pioneer out of the east, falling into slavery in Egypt, escaping into the desert, invading and winning the land of Palestine, fighting there against enemies near and far, and against strong temptations, conquered at last and carried captive to Babylon, and returning to live in poverty and subjection. There is much more defeat in this experience than victory, more adversity than prosperity. The explanation is hidden beyond human search, in the inscrutable mystery of the divine ordering of the world. Meanwhile the good nation, like the good man, like Job, will maintain an unfailing patience, and a faith invincible, saying, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

XIII

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

I

THE Old Testament, thus completed and consisting of thirty-nine books, is divided in the Hebrew Bible into three parts or collections.

The first is the Law, being the five books of Moses. This we may call the Bible proper, the supreme authority in religion for the Jews. The second is the Prophets, being the books of history from *Joshua* to *Second Kings,* (called the Former Prophets) and the books of prophecy from *Isaiah* to *Malachi,* except *Daniel,* (called the Latter Prophets). These books were a later collection added to the Bible. A third collection, much later and called the Hagiographa, or Holy Writings, includes books of poetry, books of wisdom, a new edition of ancient history, in the *Chronicles,* extended in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to record the events of the return from exile and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, with the prophecy of Daniel during the persecution of the Jews by the Greeks in the second century before Christ.

When the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek (the *Septuagint*) a fourth collection was added to these three. It was composed of books most of which were written between the year 200 before Christ and the

year 1. Some of them were made in Palestine, in the Hebrew or Aramaic language; others in Alexandria, in Greek. They were collected in Alexandria; such as were in Hebrew or Aramaic were translated into Greek; and they were called Apocrypha, *i. e.* Hidden Writings, a word which was at first used in praise, meaning sacred books to be hidden from the uninitiated, but was later used in blame, meaning books of obscure, questionable or at least secondary value. Thus while the Hebrew Old Testament, as read by the Jews of Palestine, consisted of three collections of religious books, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, the Greek Old Testament, as read by the Jews of Alexandria, consisted of four collections, the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa and the Apocrypha.

When the Greek Bible was translated into Latin (the *Vulgate*) it included this fourth collection with the others. Meanwhile official Judaism had declined to accept these Alexandrian additions as a part of the Bible. There were accordingly two Old Testaments, one consisting of thirty-nine books read in the synagogues, the other consisting of these thirty-nine books plus the fourteen of the Apocrypha read in the churches. And this difference still continues, for at the Reformation the Protestants, for the most part, subtracted the Apocrypha, while the Roman Catholics retained it. In the Church of England, and in the Episcopal Church in this country, parts of the Apocrypha are appointed to be read "for example of life and instruction of manners." This is a wise discrimination, for while the complete inclusion of the fourth

collection adds to the Bible some writings which are entertaining rather than religious, its complete exclusion deprives the reader of the Bible of some stirring chapters of Jewish history, and of many helpful counsels for the betterment of conduct.

II

Eight of the apocryphal writings are additions to various books of the Hebrew Bible. One of them is called *The rest of the Book of Esther;* it tells how devoutly Mordecia and Esther prayed, thereby introducing an element of religion, which in the original book is so curiously lacking. Another, *The Prayer of Manasses,* undertakes the still more difficult task of bringing a little good religion into the experience of that stout pagan, Manasseh the Apostate; he is represented as taken captive to Babylon, and there confessing his sins.

Three additions are made to the book of *Daniel.* One is *The Song of the Three Children,* and reports how Azariah prayed in the burning, fiery furnace, and how he and Misael and Ananias sang in the midst of the flames to the glory of God: "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, praise him and magnify him forever." Another is *The Story of Susanna,* and tells how the conspiracy of two wicked elders against the fair name of a good woman was defeated by the cross-examination of Daniel. He had the false witnesses examined separately. Confronting the first with that freedom of personal abuse which even then was

a traditional privilege of an attorney, "O thou that art waxen old in wickedness," he said, "now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come to light, for thou hast pronounced false judgment, and hast condemned the innocent and let the guilty go free. Now then, tell me, under what tree sawest thou them?" He answered, "Under a mastic tree." The other witness, being similarly browbeaten and questioned, answered, "Under a holm tree."

A third addition to the book of *Daniel* is the two amusing little tales of *Bel and the Dragon.* Bel is an idol which consumes every day twelve measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine. The King of Babylon is sure that the idol is alive because it has so good an appetite. But Daniel secretly spreads a film of ashes on the floor of the shrine, and in the morning it shows the marks of the bare feet of men, women and children. These, as he proves to the king, are the priests and their families, who come up out of a trap-door under the table and feast on the idol's dinner. "But behold this great dragon," says the king. "Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? Lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god; therefore worship him." Daniel says, "If thou wilt give me leave, I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff." The king says, "I give thee leave." So Daniel makes a ball of pitch and fat and hair which sticks in the dragon's throat and strangles him.

The Third Book of Esdras is numbered by counting *Ezra* as the first, and *Nehemiah* as the second. It is an

account of the return from the captivity in Babylon, and of the rebuilding of the temple; a parallel and rival of the canonical books, and by some scholars preferred before them. It contains a pleasant story of a debate before Darius on the question, "Which is the strongest?" One says, "Wine is the strongest"; another, "The king is the strongest"; a third maintains that "Women are strongest." "The king," he says, "is great in his power, and all regions fear to touch him, yet I did see him, and Apame, the king's favorite, sitting at the right hand of the king, and taking the crown from the king's head and setting it upon her own head; she also struck the king with her left hand. And yet for all this the king gaped, and gazed upon her with open mouth; if she laughed upon him, he laughed also; if she took any displeasure at him, the king was fain to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him." The debate is decided in favor of the proposition "Great is Truth, and mighty above all things."

The Fourth Book of Esdras is made up of the visions and prophecies of Ezra the Scribe, for the consolation of the people in distress. "I, Esdras saw upon the mount Sion a great people, whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs. And in the midst of them there was a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly. So I asked the angel, and said: 'Sir, what are these?' He answered and said unto me: 'These be they that have put off the mortal clothing, and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name

of God: now are they crowned, and receive palms.' Then said I unto the angel, 'What young man is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands?' So he answered and said unto me, 'It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world.' Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord."

The companion and secretary of Jeremiah is represented as speaking in the book of *Baruch the Prophet*. It is a confession of sin, and an acknowledgment of the justice of the punishment of God, and a promise of deliverance. "God hath appointed that every high hill, and banks of long continuance, shall be cast down, and valleys filled up, to make even the ground that Israel may go safely in the glory of the Lord. God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him."

III

Of the six independent writings of the Apocrypha, two are books of history, two are books of romance, and two are books which belong to the literature of Wisdom.

The two history books, *First* and *Second Maccabees,* are parallel accounts of one of the most dramatic periods of Jewish history. Out of the oppression of the Jews by the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes, when the temple was desecrated and the faithful were persecuted, and an effort was made to exterminate the ancient religion, the land was delivered by the wisdom

and bravery of Judas Maccabeus. He was a leader of a splendid and successful struggle for independence. *First Maccabees* relates the history of forty years, to the death of Simon the Maccabee in B. C. 135, and was probably written by a contemporary. *Second Maccabees,* which is a condensation of five volumes of Maccabean history, is concerned with fifteen years in the midst of this period, ending with the victory of Judas over the Greek general Nicanor.

Of the two romance books, *Judith* is a thrilling story of the assassination of the commander of an invading army. At a time of national distress, when the fear and dread of the Assyrians fell upon all peoples, and Judah and Jerusalem were sore beset by the forces of General Holofernes, Judith of Bethulia, a young widow, "of a goodly countenance and very beautiful to behold," went over with her waiting-woman to the camp of the enemy and offered to show them a pass among the hills through which they might attack the Jews with great advantage. She was brought into the tent of Holofernes who entertained her at dinner, during which he "drank much more wine that he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born." This opportunity Judith improved. She took the sword of Holofernes and cut off his head. Putting the head in a bag she made her way back to her own people, and the Assyrians, filled with fear at this sudden tragedy, fled away.

Tobit was a righteous and generous Jew who had fallen into poverty and blindness. He sent his son Tobias into the distant land of Media to recover ten

talents of silver which he had left there with a friend. The lad started out, taking his dog with him, and having for guide a man who turns out to be the angel Raphael in disguise. On the way Tobias catches a fish, whose heart and liver and gall, by the direction of Raphael, he saves and carries with him. Arriving in Media, Tobias finds his cousin Sara with whom he falls in love, and proposes to marry her. But Sara has been the victim of a singular fatality. She has been married seven times, and every time, on the wedding night, a demon has appeared and killed the bridegroom. The heart and liver of the fish, however, provide an enchantment against this demon. Tobias burns them, and makes a smoke therewith, "the which smell, when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt." With his bride and the ten talents Tobias returned. By the advice of Raphael he rubbed the gall of the fish on his father's eyes, who thereupon regained his sight. Thus was Tobias rewarded at last for all his generosity and goodness. "Wherefore now, my son, consider what alms doeth, and how righteousness doth deliver."

The two wisdom books are written in the spirit of *Job* and *Proverbs*, and continue the tradition of the Wise Men. *The Book of Wisdom* is put forth in the name of Solomon and praises the prudent virtues which are indicated by its title. To the rewards and punishments of this present life, which alone had concerned the earlier sages, this writer adds the fear and hope of a life after death.

The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And there shall no torment touch them.
In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die:
And their departure is taken for misery,
And their going from us to be utter destruction:
But they are in peace.
For though they be punished in the sight of men,
Yet is their hope full of immortality.
And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded:
For God proved them, and found them worthy for himself.
As gold in the furnace hath he tried them,
And received them as a burnt offering.
And in the time of their visitation they shall shine,
And run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.
They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people,
And their Lord shall reign for ever.
They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth:
And such as be faithful in love shall abide with him:
For grace and mercy is to his saints,
And he hath care for his elect.

Ecclesiasticus, called also *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach,* repeats in new words the fine old admonitions and anticipations of the sages.

My son, if thou come to serve the Lord,
Prepare thy soul for temptation.
Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure,
And make not haste in time of trouble.
Cleave unto him, and depart not away,
That thou mayest be increased at thy last end.
Whatsoever is brought upon thee take cheerfully,
And be patient when thou art changed to a low estate.

For gold is tried in the fire,
And acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.
Believe in him, and he will help thee;
Order thy way aright, and trust in him.

Ye that fear the Lord, wait for his mercy;
And go not aside, lest ye fall.
Ye that fear the Lord, believe him;
And your reward shall not fail.
Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good,
And for everlasting joy and mercy.
Look at the generations of old, and see;
Did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded?
Or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken?
Or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?
For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy,
Longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins,
And saveth in time of affliction.

Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands,
And the sinner that goeth two ways!
Woe unto him that is fainthearted! for he believeth not;
Therefore shall he not be defended.
Woe unto you that have lost patience!
And what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?

They that fear the Lord will not disobey his word;
And they that love him will keep his ways.
They that fear the Lord will seek that which is well-pleasing unto him;
And they that love him shall be filled with the law.
They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts,
And humble their souls in his sight, saying,
We will fall into the hands of the Lord,
And not into the hands of men:
For as his majesty is,
So is his mercy.

XIV

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF ST. PETER

THE first three gospels differ from every other group of biographies of one man in their similarity each to the other. Matthew, a Galilean apostle, who had been employed in the custom-house at Capernaum; Mark, a Judean disciple, at whose mother's house in Jerusalem the Christian believers had been accustomed to assemble; and Luke, a Gentile convert, who had been a physician in Antioch or in Philippi; select out of the crowded ministry of Jesus the same events, the same dealings with friends and enemies, the same miracles of healing, and describe them for the most part in the same words; and Matthew and Luke agree also in their accounts of the teachings of Jesus, selecting out of all his instructions the same sayings.

This is a literary situation which the attentive reader of the Old Testament is prepared to understand. He remembers that the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib is described at great length in the same words in *Kings* and *Isaiah* (*II Kings* 18-20=*Isaiah* 36-39), and that the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is related in the same words in *Kings* and *Jeremiah* (*II Kings* 24:18-25:21=*Jer.* 52:1-27), and that chapter after chapter of *Kings* is reproduced in chapter after chapter of *Chronicles*. He knows that these similari-

ties and identities are due to the fact that the writers of *Isaiah, Jeremiah* and *Chronicles* had in their hands the books of *Kings*. He accounts in like manner for the verbal agreement of the three gospels. These writers quoted from the same documents.

The fact that three of them agree in their record of what Christ did, and that two of them agree also in their record of what Christ said, indicates that there was a document which dealt mainly with his works, and another document which dealt mainly with his words.

These two primitive sources of information seem to be referred to in a statement made early in the second century by Papias of Hierapolis. He was a bishop who wrote a book called *Commentaries on the Oracles of the Lord*. The book is lost, but descriptions of it and quotations from it remain. Papias said, "Mark, who was Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the words and acts of Christ, but not in order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor was he one of his followers; he was a follower, as I have said, at a later time, of Peter, who arranged his addresses as occasions dictated, without any intention of putting together a complete statement of the Lord's sayings. Mark accordingly made no mistake in thus writing down some things as they occurred to him; for of one thing he was most careful, not to omit anything he had heard, nor to misrepresent anything in it." And Papias said further, "Matthew composed the sayings in the Hebrew dialect, and everyone translated them as he was able."

It is the general opinion of scholars that the gospel of *Mark,* thus described, is that which we have in our Bible. It is this gospel from which Matthew and Luke took their accounts of the ministry of Jesus. Eleven-twelfths of *Mark* is thus repeated in *Luke* and *Matthew.* It is also the general opinion of scholars that Matthew's record of the Sayings is quoted in those passages in which the gospel of *Matthew* and the gospel of *Luke* agree (without *Mark*), and probably in other passages. These are the two sources whose use by the three evangelists explains the identities of their three gospels.

Mark, to whom we are thus indebted for almost all that we know of the ministry of Jesus Christ, belonged to the second Christian generation. The house of Mary, his mother, may have contained the upper room in which the Last Supper was eaten. The inference is drawn from the fact that it is in his gospel only that we are told about the young man who suddenly appeared in the Garden of Gethsemane and was chased away. It is a fair guess that they who were sent to arrest Jesus went first to the house where the Last Supper had been prepared, and not finding him there went on to Gethsemane; and that the lad Mark was roused from sleep to run to the Garden to give the Master warning. It is certain that when Peter was unexpectedly released from prison he went at once to Mary's house, where he found the disciples assembled. Thus Mark as a boy was in the way of knowing the Christian leaders. He went on a missionary journey with Paul and Barnabas, who was his uncle or cousin;

and though he left the company in the midst of the mission, much to Paul's displeasure, he regained the favor of the apostle, who wrote in his latter days to Timothy, "Take Mark and bring him with thee, for he is profitable to me for the ministry." Thus he came to Rome, where, after the death of Paul, he continued with Peter, who spoke of him with fatherly affection,—"Mark, my son." This varied and intimate acquaintance put him in possession of the apostolic memories of Jesus.

Peter, so Papias says, told Mark all that he remembered. This was partly, no doubt, in the way of familiar reminiscence, but partly also in the way of preaching. For Peter spoke in Aramaic in the language whose Galilean accent betrayed him as he stood with the servants and warmed himself on the night before the crucifixion. Mark was his interpreter in Rome, where most of the Christians understood Greek. As occasion arose for direction, for warning, for consolation, Peter searched his memory for some appropriate word or deed of Jesus, and Mark translated what he said. The *Gospel of St. Mark* goes back, therefore, to St. Peter. It is the Recollections of St. Peter. It gives an account of the ministry of Christ as it was seen and heard by one of his own apostles, one who was nearer to him than most of the others.

Accordingly, almost everything which we know about Peter before the Day of Pentecost comes from *Mark*. Much of it appears, it is true, in *Matthew* and in *Luke*, but it is there quoted from this gospel, word for word.

There is, indeed, an account in *John* (1:40-42) of the first meeting of Peter with Jesus, of which there is no record in *Mark*. There are descriptions in *Luke* and *John* of experiences of Peter after the Lord's resurrection, which are not contained in *Mark;* but this may be because we are not in possession of the original ending of this gospel. As it stands, it stops abruptly. An angel at the empty tomb says, "Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." The writer adds, "And they went out quickly and fled from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were amazed; neither said they anything to any man, for they were afraid." Here, in some early manuscripts, the gospel comes to an end. One manuscript adds the words, "And all things which had been communicated to them they immediately declared to those who were with Peter. And after these things Jesus himself sent forth by them the holy and indestructible preaching of everlasting salvation, from the east even unto the west." Another manuscript, which adds the twelve verses (16:9-20) with which we are familiar, sets opposite to them in the margin the note, "from the presbyter Ariston;" as if this disciple, of whom Papias speaks with great respect, had written them.

That Mark had other sources of information besides Peter appears in his use of two somewhat different traditions of the feeding of the multitude: one time stating the number as five thousand, leaving twelve baskets

of fragments (6:35-44), and another time (8:1-9) as four thousand, when "they took up of the broken meat that remained seven baskets." Also his thirteenth chapter, the discourse on the end of the world, seems to be an independent document. It is plain, however, that the main source of Mark's information is the recollections of Peter.

Thus after the baptism and temptation, and the call of Peter and his companions in the fishing fleet, the ministry of Jesus begins at Capernaum in Peter's house. The events of that first day are set down in the narrative in detail. We are told what took place in the morning, and at noon, and in the evening, and very early the day after. It is as if the experiences of that day had impressed themselves upon the memory of Peter with the emphasis which goes with beginnings. No doubt, there were many other days as full of events quite as important, but that day when all was new remained in the apostle's remembrance with ineffaceable distinctness.

And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught, and they were astonished at his doctrine; for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes. And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying:—"Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked him, saying:—"Hold thy peace, and come out of him." And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him. And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among

themselves, saying:—"What thing is this? what new teaching is this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him." And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.

And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her. And he came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.

And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And he healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.

And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed. And Simon and they that were with him followed after him. And when they had found him, they said unto him:—"All seek for thee." And he said unto them:—"Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also: for therefore came I forth."

The interest of the narrator, here as elsewhere, is in the works of Jesus rather than in his words. He forgot the sermon which he heard in the synagogue; he remembered only the miracle. It appears in the narrative that Jesus perceived this situation and deplored it. Out come the disciples the next morning, Simon Peter at their head, seeking him as he prays "in a solitary place." The town, they cry, is already astir with excitement; the street in front of our house, says Peter, is full of people expecting more miracles. But the Lord declines to return. "Let us go into the next towns,"

he says, "that I may *preach,* for that is the work which I am come to do."

Nevertheless, some days later, when he returned to Capernaum, and was again in Peter's house, and "many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, no, not so much as about the door," and he preached the word unto them, again we have no record of the word which he preached, but a full account of the healing of a palsied man whose friends let him down into the presence of Jesus through the roof. And so proceeds this gospel to the end. It illustrates the saying that the eye sees what it brings of seeing, and the ear hears what it brings of hearing. What we have in the *Gospel of St. Peter* is the recollections of a plain man, whose processes of thinking are practical rather than philosophical. He listens to sermons with a somewhat absent mind, but he looks about him with quick and clear perception. He makes us see what he saw.

Take for example another healing in the synagogue.

And he entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered hand. And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the sabbath day; that they might accuse him. And he saith unto the man which had the withered hand:—"Stand forth." And he saith unto them:—"Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?" But they held their peace. And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man:—"Stretch forth thine hand." And he stretched it out: and his hand was restored whole as the other. And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.

It is the description of an eye-witness. The watching adversaries, the maimed man standing up and stretching forth his hand, the Master looking round about on the congregation with grief and indignation: all this we see as if a door were suddenly opened that we might look in.

So again, in a later chapter.

> And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went before them; and they were amazed; and as they followed they were afraid.

On several occasions we not only see the Master but hear his voice; as if the sound so echoed in the Aramaic words which he used that they could not be adequately translated, but Mark must repeat them to us as they were repeated to him by Peter.

Thus it was when he restored the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue.

> While he yet spake, there came from the ruler of the synagogue's house certain which said:—"Thy daughter is dead; why troublest thou the Master any further?" As soon as Jesus heard the word that was spoken, he saith unto the ruler of the synagogue:—"Be not afraid, only believe." And he suffered no man to follow him, save Peter, and James, and John the brother of James. And he cometh to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and seeth the tumult, and them that wept and wailed greatly. And when he was come in, he saith unto them:—"Why make ye this ado, and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth." And they laughed him to scorn. But when he had put them all out, he taketh the father and the mother of the damsel, and them that were with him, and entereth in where the damsel was lying, and he took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her, "Talitha

cumi"; which is, being interpreted:—"Damsel, I say unto thee, arise." And straightway the damsel arose, and walked; for she was of the age of twelve years. And they were astonished with a great astonishment. And he charged them straitly that no man should know it; and commanded that something should be given her to eat.

The voice is heard again in the healing of a deaf and dumb man.

And again, departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coast of Decapolis. And they bring unto him one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his speech; and they beseech him to put his hand upon him. And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue; and looking up to heaven, he sighed, and said unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened. And straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain.

And again, from the cross.

At the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabacthani, which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Also, from this gospel comes the word for "father" —Abba.

The prominence of Peter in the narrative is due in part to the temperament which made him the first to speak and to act, and in part to the autobiographical source from which our information comes. His name heads the list of apostles; he is the spokesman of the twelve; it is he who first declares aloud the belief

which is in all their hearts, that Jesus is the Messiah, it is he who is admitted with James and John into the experience of the transfiguration. At the same time, along with this, goes a confession of weakness and ignorance and error; as if Peter in his denial of his Master had learned a lesson about himself which made pride impossible. Peter speaks for his companions at the transfiguration, but only to make a foolish proposal, "for he wist not what to say." He proclaims the Messiahship of Jesus, but on the same occasion is reproved; the Lord says, "Get thee behind me, Satan." It is to him in Gethsemane that Jesus says, "Simon, sleepest thou? couldest not thou watch one hour?" And his vehement protestation, "If I should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise," is presently followed by his denial. All this has special significance as the recollection and confession of Peter himself.

The account of the ministry of Jesus which is contained in this gospel describes in six chapters (1-6) his work in Galilee, in four chapters (7-10) his departure from Galilee and his ministry in the regions round about, and in six chapters (11-16) his ministry in Jerusalem, during the Holy Week.

The ministry in Galilee, having Capernaum for headquarters, came to a crisis and conclusion with a visit of hostile Pharisees from Jerusalem. In his contention with these representatives of the conventional religion Jesus definitely broke with the ceremonial law. Righteousness, he said, is the essential thing; ritual is of value only so far as it ministers to right conduct. The Pharisees had built up an elaborate

system of taboo. They had made a list of objects which, being touched, would render a man ceremonially unclean; they had inherited a list of articles of food which would have a like effect. Thus on their return from market, lest inadvertently they had touched some forbidden object, they washed their hands with a prescribed ceremony. All this, Jesus swept aside.

Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem. And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen, hands, they found fault. For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pots, brasen vessels, and of tables. Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him: "Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands?" He answered and said unto them:—"Well hath Isaiah prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, But their heart is far from me. Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do." And he said unto them:—"Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift to God, [*i. e.* to the Church] by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free. And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his father or his mother; making the word of God

of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered: and many such like things do ye."

And when he had called all the people unto him, he said unto them:—"Hearken unto me every one of you, and understand: there is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man. If any man have ears to hear, let him hear." And when he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable. And he saith unto them:—"Are ye so without understanding also? Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him; because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught?" This, he said, making all food clean. And he said:—"That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man. For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all those evil things come from within, and defile the man."

This doctrine was too strong even for St. Peter. Loyal as he was, he did not follow his Master here. Long after, seeing in a vision "all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things," and hearing a voice from heaven itself saying, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat," he immediately answered, "Not so, Lord, for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean" (*Acts* 10:11-14). As with Peter, still more with other disciples. There was a great falling away. After this, leaving eastern Galilee, Jesus went into the country about Tyre and Sidon; thence to Cæsarea Philippi, in whose neighborhood Peter declared his messiahship and beheld his

transfiguration; thence through the region which lay on the other side of the Jordan, to Jerusalem.

The gospel gives little indication of time, except in the successive days of the final week. How long was the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth we are not told. The record seems to bring it all within the space of a few months, less than a year.

XV

THE RECORDS OF ST. MATTHEW

OF the two accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus, given by those who actually knew him, the Marcan record, derived from St. Peter, was not written till after Peter's death. The Matthean record was probably written earlier than that.

Three influences prevented the disciples from the immediate composition of a life of Christ. One was the presence of so many who could tell by word of mouth what he had said and done; another was the expectation of his speedy return to bring the world to an end; a third was the theological emphasis which was placed by St. Paul on his death and resurrection, in comparison with which nothing else seemed of importance. The passing of the years, however, modified these influences. The number of personal witnesses grew steadily smaller, the end of the world seemed more and more remote, and the exclusive interest of Paul in the death and resurrection of Christ was not shared by those who had become Christians under other teachers. Of these non-Pauline Christians there were many in Rome, who listened eagerly to the recollections of Peter. There were many in Palestine, where the Pauline influence was slight. The

Palestinian disciples had local memories of the ministry of Jesus, which were their special treasures. Happily it was a time when everybody's memory was good. Partly because of the methods of instruction in the schools, partly because of the absence of such aids to memory as we have in printed books, people were trained to remember accurately. Under these favoring conditions the apostle Matthew wrote down what was in his mind of the words of Jesus which he himself had heard.

The truth of the tradition that it was Matthew who wrote the Sayings is confirmed by the obscurity of the man. In consequence of his occupation as a publican he was a political and social and ecclesiastical outsider. The taxes and customs which were collected by the publicans went to Roman rulers. A Jew who was thus in the service of the conquerors of the country was regarded by his neighbors in somewhat the same way as a Belgian would be who should undertake a similar duty. The publicans were the most unpopular men in the community. If anybody without actual knowledge had been guessing an apostolic writer of the Sayings, he would have guessed Matthew last. We have therefore good reason to believe that in the Matthean record we have a report of the words of Jesus made by one who heard him say these things.

It is plain, however, that the Matthean record is not identical with the *Gospel of St. Matthew.* Because this gospel is in Greek. Between us and St. Matthew, as between us and St. Peter, is a translator. And not only a translator but an editor. For this gospel is

composed of sayings of Jesus plus almost the whole of the *Gospel of St. Mark*. Somebody, about whom we have no information, took the Marcan account of the ministry of Jesus, prefixed to it narratives of the nativity, affixed to it narratives of the resurrection, and inserted into it at several places long quotations from the Matthean Sayings. It is evident that Matthew did not do this, for no apostle would have been content to describe the ministry, of which he himself had been a part, in the words of a much younger man who knew about it not by experience but by information, like Mark. It is likely that the name of Matthew was connected with this gospel because so much—perhaps the whole—of the Matthean record was incorporated in it.

A comparison of *Matthew* and *Mark* shows at a glance the great amount of teaching matter which was thus added. The most notable contribution is the *Sermon on the Mount*. The Lord is at the beginning of his ministry, many disciples have gathered about him, he instructs them in the principles of the New Righteousness. Ideals, expressed in the form of beatitudes, take the place of rules and regulations. The commandments are interpreted as applying not to the lips or the hands only but to the heart, and are thus transformed into ideals. The duties of almsgiving, prayer and fasting are taken out of the low level of conventional religion and filled with new meaning and purpose. The kingdom and righteousness of God is exalted above all things. Part of it consists in faith in God, part of it in a new spirit of fraternity. It

makes religion positive and active: the essential thing, to which all else is subordinate, is to do the will of God.

And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying:—

i

"Blessed are the poor in spirit:
For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Blessed are they that mourn:
For they shall be comforted.
Blessed are the meek:
For they shall inherit the earth.
Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness:
For they shall be filled.
Blessed are the merciful:
For they shall obtain mercy.
Blessed are the pure in heart:
For they shall see God.
Blessed are the peacemakers:
For they shall be called the children of God.
Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake:
For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you,
And shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
Rejoice, and be exceeding glad:
For great is your reward in heaven:
For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

ii

"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

"Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a lamp, and put it under a bushel, but on a lamp-stand; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one title shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."

iii

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath

committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

"It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

"Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and

sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

iv

"Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.

"And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knowest what things ye have need of, before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye:

Our Father which art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come.
Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory,
for ever.
Amen.

For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

"Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly."

v

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness how great is that darkness! No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?
Behold the fowls of the air:
For they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into
barns;
Yet your heavenly Father feedeth them.
Are ye not much better than they?

Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment?

Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;
They toil not, neither do they spin:
And yet I say unto you,
That even Solomon in all his glory
Was not arrayed like one of these.
Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field,
Which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven,
Shall he not much more clothe you,
O ye of little faith?

Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (for after all these things do the Gentiles seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought of the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

vi

"Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye. Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son

ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him? Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

vii

"Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

"Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

"Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended,

and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it."

The report of this sermon in the *Gospel of St. Luke* is much shorter (*Lk.* 6:17-49); but other parts appear in other chapters, where they are connected with other occasions. Thus the Lord's Prayer was given when the disciples asked to be taught to pray, and the admonition as to the strait gate was an answer to those who asked "Are there few that be saved?" The inference is that the compiler of *Matthew* assembled into a long discourse the Sayings which Luke quoted as he found them in the Matthean record, treating them topically rather than chronologically. It may be that the compiler modified some of the Sayings, feeling that Jesus must have said "Blessed are the poor in spirit," rather than "Blessed be ye poor," and that he must have made at least one exception to the rule, "Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery."

It is to the compiler of the gospel, not to the record which Matthew made, that we owe the many references to Old Testament prophecy. Matthew, as a publican and outsider, would hardly have quoted so readily. It may be to the same hand that we owe the famous commission to St. Peter concerning the foundation of the church. For we find Mark giving an account of Peter's confession of the messiahship of Jesus, and Matthew quoting him word for word through the sentence "Thou art the Christ," to which he adds "the Son of the living God." Here Mark

continues, "And he charged them that they should tell no man of him" (*Mk.* 8:27-33). But Matthew, following some other source of information, inserts,

> And Jesus answered and said unto him:—
> "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Then he returns to his copying, "And he charged them that they should tell no man of him," as in *Mark* (*Mt.* 16:17-20).

It may be that we owe also to the compiler of this gospel the uncommonly strong expressions which are used in it regarding everlasting punishment. The account of the Last Judgment (*Mt.* 25:31-46) may have been in the record which St. Matthew made; Jesus may have conditioned heaven and hell not on character but on the exercise of charity, and may have represented himself as saying to those on the left hand, "Depart, ye cursed"; but St. Luke did not quote it. It seems to come to us not from what the apostle Matthew heard Jesus say, but from what the compiler of the *Gospel of Matthew* found in some source of information about which we know nothing.

The fact that the report of a word or deed of Jesus appears in only one gospel does not of itself bring it into question; for this is the case, for example, with

the parable of the Prodigal Son. If, however, a question arises, as, for example, concerning such a miracle as the finding of a coin in the fish's mouth (*Mt.* 17:24-27), then we may recognize the fact that the greater certainty attaches to those passages in which Matthew and Luke agree. Here we may be sure that we are listening to the words which Matthew heard.

XVI

THE WRITINGS OF ST. LUKE

I

THE *Gospel of St. Matthew* may be described as a second edition of the *Gospel of St. Mark,* adding precious records of the teachings of Jesus, notably the Sermon on the Mount. The *Gospel of St. Luke* may be described as a third edition of the *Gospel of St. Mark,* adding not only the records of the teachings of Jesus which were written by St. Matthew but also the reports of other teachings; these are contained for the most part in nine chapters (*Lk.* 9:51-18:14).

The preface shows the author studying his sources, reading such lives of Christ as have already been written, gaining in this way a "perfect understanding" of his subject, and writing a gospel which he believes to be better than any which have preceded it.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

He took the *Gospel of St. Mark,* prefixed to it narratives of the nativity which are entirely different from those in the *Gospel of St. Matthew,* affixed narratives of the resurrection which are different from those in Matthew's gospel, and inserted into the framework of *St. Mark* many passages which are so like those in *Matthew* as to indicate their derivation from the same source, and many other passages whose difference from *Matthew* indicate a different source.

The nine chapters which are peculiar to *Luke* begin with the refusal of Jesus to call down fire on an offending village of Samaritans (9:51-56). They include the account of the Samaritan who, alone of ten who had been healed, returned to give thanks (17:11-19). And they contain the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:25-37). In answer to the question, "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus said:

"A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell

among the thieves?" And he said:—"He that shewed mercy on him." Then said Jesus unto him:—"Go, and do thou likewise."

These chapters contrast a Pharisee with a publican, to the great advantage of the publican (18:9-14), and they are followed by an account of a visit of Jesus to Jericho, where he was the guest of a publican, to the scandal of all good churchmen.

Remembering how publicans and Samaritans were generally regarded at this time, the preservation of these incidents suggests that St. Luke was interested in the widening of the circle of Christian sympathy. It pleased him to find within that widening circle the neglected poor, whom Jesus blessed in the beatitudes, and of whom he spoke in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus:

"There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: and there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried: and in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which

would pass from hence to you cannot: neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence. Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house: for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets: let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

He recorded the new law of Christian hospitality.

"When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

He preserved sayings of Jesus in which he appeared as the friend not only of the poor but of the sinners. Especially the parable of the Prodigal Son:

"A certain man had two sons: and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance in riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and

no man gave unto him. And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: and bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry: for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him. And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: but as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."

The preservation in *Luke* of these records of the dealings of Jesus with Samaritans and publicans and poor folk and sinners marks this as the social gospel.

Its characteristic note is sounded at the beginning in the *Magnificat.*

> "My soul doth magnify the Lord,
> And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
> For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden:
> For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.
> For he that is mighty hath done to me great things;
> And holy is his name.
> And his mercy is from generation to generation,
> On them that fear him.
> He hath shewed strength with his arm;
> He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
> He hath put down the mighty from their seats,
> And exalted them of low degree.
> He hath filled the hungry with good things;
> And the rich he hath sent empty away.
> He hath holpen his servant Israel,
> In remembrance of his mercy;
> As he spake to our fathers,
> To Abraham, and to his seed for ever."

Upon which King Robert of Sicily made the prudent comment,

> " 'Tis well that such seditious words are sung
> Only by priests, and in the Latin tongue."

The holy mother of the *Magnificat* is joined in this gospel by the women who ministered to the Master (8:2, 3; 23:49,55), and by the women who wept and bewailed him as he went to his crucifixion (23:27,28). It is Luke who makes us acquainted with Mary and Martha (10:38-42). It is he who describes the raising

of the dead man at Nain, calling our attention to the fact that he was "the only son of his mother, and she was a widow," and also to the fact that when the lad was brought back to life Jesus "delivered him to his mother." (7:11-15). These are illustrations of a quality of tenderness which is characteristic of this writer. They reveal in him "an understanding heart."

The Luke whose name is associated with this gospel is called by St. Paul "the beloved physician," and perhaps came into the Christian company by being called to the aid of Paul in some of his many times of sickness. The others whose names occur with his in the *Epistle to the Colossians* (4:12-14) appear to be Gentiles. They are distinguished from their companions who are Jews (4:11). In that case Luke is the only Gentile whose writings are included in the Bible. Tradition connects him with Antioch, but his appearance in the *Acts* connects him with Philippi. Wherever he lived he was by occupation a physician, and probably by religion a pagan, when Paul met him. In *Acts* (27:2) the writer of that history, using the pronoun "we," speaks of Aristarchus as one of three who are setting out for Rome—Paul, Aristarchus and the author. In *Philemon* 24, Paul writing from Rome mentions Aristarchus and Luke together. It is Luke, then, who writes what are called the "we" passages in the *Acts*. They begin in the sixteenth chapter (16:10), and continue with some interruptions to the end of the book. At the beginning of the *Acts* the writer refers to a "former treatise," addressing the same Theophilus

to whom the *Gospel of St. Luke* is dedicated. It appears, therefore, that these two books, *Luke* and *Acts,* are from the same hand, and were written by that beloved physician who was St. Paul's companion.

II

The *Acts of the Apostles* is in two parts, of which the first (1-12) is mainly an account of the acts of St. Peter, and the second (13-28) is mainly an account of the acts of St. Paul. In the first part the Christian mission is chiefly an appeal to the Jews, in the second part it is chiefly an appeal to the Gentiles.

1. The book begins in the Jewish Church. There are Jews who have found in Jesus of Nazareth the promised deliverer, the Messiah, of their race. But they are few in number; they are not yet called Christians; and they have no more idea of separating from the historic church than St. Francis had when he founded the order of the Friars Minor. They are a society within the church. They are Jews plus. The society takes some necessary steps toward organization: the number of apostles is restored to twelve, by electing Matthias in the place of Judas; and the apostles are assisted in their work by the appointment of seven helpers. But twelve and seven are both of them Jewish numbers. The Christians are still Jews. Their highest hope is that they may be successful in converting the church to their new faith.

This hope, however, is defeated. Stephen, main-

taining the new faith in one of the synagogues, is arrested and brought before the rulers of the church, and by their direction is stoned to death. The Christians are persecuted, so that they are forced not only out of the church but out of the city. In their flight, seeking refuge in Samaria and other places, they preach their gospel, and many hear them, and become members of their society. Still, they who are thus admitted are all of them Jews; except the Samaritans who are half-Jews, and excepting a centurion in Cæsarea.

The receiving of this centurion shows how far the apostles were from the idea that anybody could become a member of their Christian society without being first a Jew. For Peter, who hears in a vision a voice from heaven telling him to break down part of the barrier between Jews and Gentiles, immediately replies, "Not so, Lord!" He obeys, however, and tells the centurion that God has shown him that he is not to call any man common or unclean. "Of a truth," he adds, "I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." And to this the brethren in Jerusalem consent, who when they had heard these things "held their peace and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." But this was by no means the general opinion. It was still maintained by most conservative churchmen that Gentiles must first become Jews before they could be Christians; as in the Middle Ages anybody who desired to become a member of the Order of

St. Francis must first become a member of the Catholic Church.

This situation was changed by the conversion of Saul, commonly called Paul.

Paul had been brought up in Tarsus, a Gentile city, the seat of a great university. He had thus been made acquainted with Gentile people and with Gentile ideas. Both his early surroundings and his temperament had made him impatient of the narrowness of Judaism and of its mechanical method of salvation. He had tried hard to enter into salvation by keeping the law, that is, by obeying a great number of rules, some of them moral, but many of them ecclesiastical and ritual; he had observed the appointed days, and had been careful to eat only the prescribed kinds of food. But he had not succeeded. He had a profound consciousness of sin, for which his religion gave him no relief. His controversy with Stephen had brought to his attention a broader conception of the relation of God to the world outside of Judaism, and a way of salvation not by the works of the Jewish law but by faith in Jesus Christ and union with his spirit. This he had at first resented. He compared himself to an ox which feels the pricks of the goad urging him on, but kicks back. As a good churchman, "a Pharisee of the Pharisees" as he said, he contended against these disturbing ideas. He was unwilling to confess either in controversy or in communion with his own spirit that there could be salvation outside the church, or by means not recognized by the church. Then suddenly, as a shock of electricity separates the chemical elements of a solu-

tion, an experience on the way to Damascus clarified his troubled mind. He heard a divine voice, saying, "I send thee unto the Gentiles."

After considering this great matter for a long time—three years in Damascus, eleven years in Syria and Cilicia,—working out the inferences and conclusions of it in his own mind and by processes of missionary experience, he went to the Gentiles. This he did with some hesitation, even after this extended period of study, and in every place he addressed the Jews first. But there were Gentile hearers who welcomed what he said, while the Jews refused it. The initial proposition of his preaching, that Jesus was the Messiah, the Jews rejected. At last he turned to the Gentiles.

2. The second part of the *Acts* (13-28) is an account of this Gentile Mission.

It describes in the first place (13-15) the transformation of the Christian society into the Christian Church. The mission began with the Evangelization of Galatia. A great number of Gentiles were obedient to the faith as Paul preached it, and entered thus into the "kingdom of God," and Paul effected some sort of organization among them, ordaining in every place "elders" who should have charge over them. At this the conservative brethren took alarm, and sent word to Galatia to the effect that the Christians were a society in the Jewish Church, into which entrance could be had only by the church door. Thereupon the matter was brought up for discussion and decision. A conference was held at Jerusalem. The conservatives insisted that it was necessary to circumcise the Gentiles and to

compel them to keep the law of Moses. They had on their side both the Church and the Bible. Their position was validated by the rubrics and the canons, and the canons and the rubrics rested safely on plain texts of holy scriptures. On the other hand, Paul and Barnabas, coming from their successes in Galatia, declared that under their own observation and in their own experience God himself had received the Gentiles. They balanced the conditions of the present against the precedents of the past. They maintained that God had shown them a new way. And with them agreed Peter, who remembered his vision on the housetop and his visit to the Gentile centurion; and even James, to whom the conservatives looked for leadership. When the brethren, under the impression made by these speakers, agreed that Gentiles might be Christians in good standing without being Jews, the Christian Church came definitely into being. It came into being in obedience to the "inner light," in defiance of the sanctions of authority. This, they said, "seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us."

Nothing in the remaining chapters of the *Acts* is quite so important as this decisive action. Paul proceeded with his mission to the Gentiles. He undertook the Evangelization of Macedonia (16:9-17:14), preaching in Philippi and Thessalonica; and the Evangelization of Achaia (17:15-18:18), preaching in Athens and Corinth; and the Evangelization of Asia, or, as we would say, Asia Minor, (19:1-20:1), preaching in Ephesus. The book describes his activities, but refers only in passing to his teachings. It lays stress,

however, upon the fact that in almost every place the opposition of the Jews to Paul's ministry led to protests and disturbances, sometimes to riots, in consequence of which he was forced out. Naturally, they regarded him as the leader of a great schism.

When, therefore, he ventured to visit Jerusalem, he entered into much the same peril as would have been incurred by Luther had he ventured to visit Rome. Paul hoped to bring about a better understanding. He took with him a collection which he had been gathering among the Gentiles for the "poor saints of Jerusalem" (*Rom.* 15:26). He was received, however, with little enthusiasm. The Jerusalem brethren were conservative. They were still Jews, keeping the customs of the Jews, and obeying the Mosaic law; only adding the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, and holding his teachings in reverence. They had agreed that Paul should go to the Gentiles, but they themselves stayed in the old ways. Rumors had come to them, from time to time, that Paul had not been content to bring in the Gentiles without Jewish obedience, but that he was teaching "all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." (*Acts* 21:21.) Accordingly, they asked Paul to put these disturbing and scandalous rumors to rest by showing openly that he did not, as was reported, set at naught the law of Moses.

There were four Christians, at that moment, who were presenting offerings in the temple. Paul was advised to join them. He did so join them; was recog-

nized in the temple by Jews from Asia Minor, probably from Ephesus, who seem to have mistaken one of his companions for Trophimus, an Ephesian Gentile; and was accused by these people of the grave offense of bringing a Greek into the sacred places which none but a Jew might enter. A tumult arose, from the midst of which Paul was rescued with difficulty by the Roman soldiers whose business it was to keep order in the courts of the temple. He was brought to trial before the Jewish court. Before the trial was ended, a plot to assassinate him was discovered, and he was transferred by night to Cæsarea, with a guard of two hundred soldiers. There he was kept for two years, thus suddenly falling into silence, all his ministry being abruptly stopped. At the end of that time, on the occasion of a change of governors, fearing lest he should be taken back to Jerusalem, he appealed to Cæsar, and was sent under guard to Rome. There he arrived, after an experience of shipwreck, which is dramatically and minutely described by Luke, who was with him. The *Acts* ends unexpectedly with this sentence: "And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." For further information we consult his letters.

XVII

THE EARLIER EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL I

THE epistles of St. Paul are arranged in the New Testament not in the order of time but in the order of size. They begin with the long letters to the *Romans* and to the *Corinthians,* and end with the short note to *Philemon.* When they are rearranged according to the sequence in which they were written, they are in two groups. In the first group are the epistles to the *Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians* and *Romans,* being written during the period of St. Paul's missionary activity, while he was on his evangelizing journeys. In the second group are the epistles to the *Colossians, Ephesians* and *Philemon,* to the *Philippians,* and to *Timothy* and *Titus,* being written during the period of St. Paul's enforced inactivity, while he was held as a prisoner in Rome.

Of the epistles of the first group, those to the *Thessalonians, Galatians* and *Romans* were written from Corinth, the others were written to Corinth.

I

St. Paul had come to Corinth after discouraging experiences in Philippi, and Thessalonica, and Athens. In Philippi his ministry had led to an uprising of the

crowd against him and Silas his companion; the magistrates had beaten them with many stripes, and thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks; and though this violence had been apologized for, on finding that Paul and Silas were Roman citizens, the apology had been accompanied by an earnest request that the missionaries leave the town immediately. In Thessalonica, after a stay of several weeks, the whole city was set in an uproar, the house where the missionaries were lodged was assaulted, and Paul and Silas were conveyed away by night to save their lives. In Athens, a company of Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, out of curiosity and a desire to hear any new thing, listened to Paul's preaching for a few minutes, with the result that some were amused and others were only idly interested.

From Athens Paul sent back Timothy to Thessalonica to bring him word as to what had happened after his sudden departure. Timothy returned from this errand with a good report, and brought with him a question to which the Thessalonians desired an answer. Thereupon Paul wrote his *First Epistle*. He expressed his joy at the good account which he had received of their faith and endurance.

We sent Timothy, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellowlabourer in the Gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith: that no man should be moved by these afflictions: for yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto. For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know. For this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I

sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be in vain. But now when Timothy came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also to see you; therefore, brethren, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith; for now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord. For what thanks can we render to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your sakes before our God; night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith?

Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you. And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you: to the end he may stablish your hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.

Then he answered their question as to what share in the blessings of the Coming of the Lord would belong to those who had died already.

But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not get before them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

These details regarding the end of the world, like the details in *Genesis* regarding the beginning, are of interest as showing what the Jews thought about the matters of which we are all, in the nature of things, ignorant. They belong not to the history of the planet, but to the history of ideas. The important thing, as St. Paul immediately says, is that we shall be in a state of spiritual preparedness for the coming of the Lord, whenever and however he may appear.

But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, *Peace and safety;* then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape. But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief. Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness. Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober. For they that sleep sleep in the night; and they that be drunken are drunken in the night. But let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for an helmet, the hope of salvation. For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him. Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edify one another, even as also ye do.

The effect of this letter was such that it was necessary to write another. The Thessalonians inferred from St. Paul's words that the end of all things was immediately at hand. He wrote again, therefore, to correct this misapprehension, to assure them that

several very important preparatory events must first take place, and to exhort them to go back to their customary work and to be prepared for the Day of Judgment by being found, whenever it should dawn, in the performance of their daily duties.

Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there first come a falling away, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now hindreth will hinder, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be condemned who believed not the truth, but pleasure in unrighteousness.

No doubt, the Thessalonians, whom St. Paul had been instructing, knew what he meant, but now, at this distance, nobody knows. What is indicated by the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, and what is intended

by the Mystery of Iniquity, and "that Wicked," are details of an enigma at which many ingenious scholars have guessed, but which seem to be beyond solution. Meanwhile, that final crisis and culmination of things, of whose postponement St. Paul wrote, seems to have receded farther and farther in his mind, until his expectation was to go to Christ rather than that Christ should come to him. In the *Second Epistle of St. Peter* are heard the voices of many who say, "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation"; to whom the writer replies, as St. Paul replied to the Thessalonians that "the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night," nobody knows when, and that we ought to live as those who are ready for it: "Seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

II

About this time, disquieting news came to St. Paul from his converts in Galatia. In spite of the apparent settlement accomplished at the conference in Jerusalem, conservative brethren had taken it upon them to inform the Galatians that Paul had no authority to speak for the Christian society, being neither an apostle nor a messenger from the apostles; and that Paul's statements to the effect that Gentiles could become Christians without first becoming Jews were false. Paul wrote at once to the Galatians declaring the independ-

ence of his own ministry, and the independence of the Christian Church.

The epistle begins with two chapters of autobiography, the purpose of which is to maintain that he is an apostle "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ."

When I was converted, he says, "when God called me by his grace," I sought no guidance from the apostles, "I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus." After three years in Damascus he spent a dozen years in Syria and Cilicia, still apart from the apostles. On the way, indeed, from one part of the country to the other, he stopped in Jerusalem; but there he spent only fifteen days, and saw only two of the Christian leaders, Peter the apostle, and James the Lord's brother. It was fourteen years after his conversion before he met the apostolic company in Jerusalem; and then, he says, they "added nothing to me," they gave me no new instruction nor new authority.

Of those who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person:) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles:)—when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that

was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto circumcision. Only they desired that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do.

After this claim to a ministry which is derived not from apostolic orders but from direct revelation, St. Paul attacked the Jewish monopoly of grace.

The Jewish Church maintained a monopoly of grace. The law of Moses must be kept in order to be saved: so his Galatian converts had been told. They must be circumcised, they must observe prescribed days of devotion, they must eat only certain permitted food. That is, they must be good Jews in order to be received as Christians. The only entrance into the Christian Society was by the Jewish door. This, St. Paul stoutly denied. These details of religion he called "beggarly elements." The obedience to these things he called bondage. Salvation, he said, is by faith, not by the works of the law.

Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith worketh by love.

III

This subject he took up again, at length and more formally, in the *Epistle to the Romans*. He had come to the end of his missionary labors in Corinth, and was looking forward to a new mission in Italy and in Spain. He must go first on an errand to Jerusalem, hoping then to start out for the west. In preparation for his preaching in Rome, he wrote to the Romans. The theme of the epistle is the Way of Salvation. Paul states again the proposition that salvation is not necessarily or exclusively by the Jewish Church, whose method is the keeping of the law, but also and chiefly by the independent Christian Church, whose method is by faith.

The epistle begins with two propositions: first, that the Gentiles are all sinners; second, that the Jews are all sinners. Both Jews and Gentiles are all under sin. All, then, are in need of salvation. This is the argument of the first three chapters. It leads to the statement that salvation is to be had not by works but by faith; in support of which the fourth chapter cites the case of Abraham, justified by faith before "the law" existed.

The four chapters which follow, from the fifth to the eighth, contain the heart of the epistle. Here is set forth the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith.

These chapters are hard to read because the reasoning of the writer is according to the intellectual processes of his own time. This is the way in which they

argued in the schools of Jerusalem. This is the manner in which they brought to their argument the testimony of the ancient scriptures. Take, for example, in *Galatians,* the allegory of Sarah and Hagar.

> It is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory; for these women are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Hagar. For this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.

And, in *Romans,* the inference drawn from the sin of Adam; though here the theological system-makers of a later day erected on the uncertain foundation of incidental texts portentous doctrines of original sin and total depravity, for which St. Paul should not be held responsible.

Another difficulty which was felt from the beginning is in the fact that St. Paul's theology was so largely a matter not of reasoning but of personal experience. Into this opposition between faith and works he had entered through a spiritual crisis. He had tried hard to attain salvation by the method of rules and regulations, and had been disappointed. The bitterness of that experience, and the sense of his weakness in contending against sin with no other help than a knowledge of the law appear in the disclosure which he makes of his own soul.

We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

The intensity of this consciousness of the strength of sin and of the inability of the law to help is equaled by the intensity of his joy and confidence.

What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivereth him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, "For thy sake we are killed all the day long; We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor

principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor death, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Into the emotions thus expressed the saints in all ages have devoutly entered. But the saints are always in minority. To a majority of readers, especially to such as are not by temperament emotional or intense, these profound depths and sublime heights seem beyond their reach. Especially the fervor of St. Paul's opposition to the idea of salvation by the works of the law fails to meet an equivalent response. The Jewish law, indeed, gradually ceased to be a demand upon the Christian conscience, but a Christian law took its place. In spite of all the epistles of St. Paul, most people shaped their conduct by the word of Jesus, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Indeed, this word balances the doctrine of justification by faith even in *Galatians* and *Romans,* where Paul illustrates and enforces it by a great number of commandments; whereby he declares, in the face, as he says, of misrepresentation, that faith and works somehow go together after all.

What champion of salvation by good works could deal more practically and convincingly with the ethical side of religion than does St. Paul in chapter after chapter at the close of his epistles, where he follows his doctrinal discussion with moral application?

For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, ac-

cording as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith. For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith: or ministry, let us wait on our ministering: or he that teacheth, on teaching: or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity: he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another; not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer; distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality. Bless them that persecute you: bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. "Be not wise in your own conceits." Recompense to no man evil for evil. "Provide things honest in the sight of all men." If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay," saith the Lord. Therefore "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

The real difficulty is in the definition of faith. It is related to works as a principle is related to an observance. The principle is a general proposition to which we assent; the observance is an application of the principle which is made and imposed upon us by somebody else. Thus we agree to the principle that one

day in the week should be holy to the Lord; but we disagree with a hundred arbitrary interpretations of that principle which have been embodied in the laws of Jews and of Puritans. We hold that our salvation, in this respect, is to keep the day holy, not to obey a long list of petty rules about it.

Faith is related to works as the motive is related to the action. The motive interprets the action, and gives it value. Works may be done for the gaining of popular applause: in which case, as Jesus said, they have that reward, and no other. That is all that they are worth. Or they may be done not for love of God, nor for love of our neighbor, but as investments for the benefit of our souls in a future state; in which case those who have thus performed them shall find themselves in the case of the men in the Sermon on the Mount who say, "Lord, Lord, have we not preached in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works?" To whom the Lord says, "I never knew you."

Faith is related to works as the service of a son is related to the service of a slave. One has the quality of affection, the other of compulsion. One serves because he desires to serve, without conditions or limits, looking for new opportunities; the other serves because he must, consulting his list of orders and watching the clock.

Faith is related to works as the beatitudes are related to the commandments. The beatitudes are ideals, whose attainment is the desire of our soul, the commandments are regulations, appointed for us. The

difference is like that between a life which is good, for fear of consequences if it is evil, and a life which is good for love of God; between those who may safely be trusted so long as they are directed and watched, and those who may safely be trusted because nobody else can possibly be so desirous to have them do right as they are to do right themselves.

After the central chapters (5-8) in which St. Paul maintains that we are saved by faith and not by works, he discusses the problem of acceptance and rejection which is involved in the realization of the kingdom of God in the Christian Church rather than in the Jewish Church (9-11). Then follow practical counsels (12-15). And the epistle ends with a chapter which is thought by some to have been written not to the Romans but to the Ephesians. It contains a list of persons to whom the writer sends messages; an extraordinarily long list considering the fact that he has never been in Rome. And some of the names, as Priscilla and Aquila, are associated in other places with Ephesus. The chapter commends a deaconess, Phebe, to the good will and hospitality of the church, wherever it is. The sentence, "I, Tertius, who wrote his Epistle, salute you," gives us the name of the brother to whom, as his secretary, St. Paul dictated this letter.

XVIII

THE EARLIER EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL II

AFTER a year and a half in Corinth, St. Paul went to Ephesus, where he remained for two years and three months. The sea made communication easy between Ephesus and Corinth, and the apostle kept in touch with his Corinthian converts. He appears to have visited them several times, and several times he wrote them letters, of which two have survived.

Another letter, which preceded these, but is lost, is referred to in such a manner as to let us know what it was about. He warned them against bad company. He told them to have nothing to do with covetous persons, or idolaters, or fornicators, or railers, or extortioners, or drunkards. They replied that in order to obey such a counsel of exclusion they must give up both society and business. They reminded him that Corinth was inhabited mostly by such sinners. Would he require them to go out of the world? Answering them in the progress of his *First Epistle* (*I. Cor.* 5:9-11), he mitigated the rigor of his former advice and allowed them to consort, if necessary, with pagan sinners; but he drew the line at Christian sinners. They were not even to eat, he said, with Christian extortioners, or with Christian drunkards. The letter makes it plain that even after a year and a

half of cultivation at the hands of Paul himself, there were still tares in the Corinthian field.

I

Then two things happened: friends came, notably from the house of Chloe, bringing various reports from Corinth; and a letter came asking various questions. The *First Epistle* deals in part (1-6) with these reports and in part (7-16) with these questions.

It was reported, in the first place, (1-4) that there were divisions among the Corinthian disciples. Some said "I am of Paul;" others, "I am of Apollos;" others, "I am of Cephas;" and still others, about whom we do not know enough to warrant either praise or blame, "I am of Christ." There seems to have been no disagreement as to the fundamentals; the debates concerned inferences, details and additions. Apollos, a young man from Alexandria, who had succeeded Paul in Corinth, seems to have taught some things which Paul had not taught. Thereupon arose a Paul party, holding to the old ways, and an Apollos party, preferring the new ways. The like has happened in many a parish. And then, as now, those who liked what St. Paul calls "milk," and those who liked what he calls "meat," were not content to enjoy each his own preference, and to have the parochial table spread with both meat and milk, but insisted on criticizing and reviling the preference of the other. "There is only one foundation," St. Paul says; "I have laid that. I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus

Christ and him crucified. But on this foundation there may be various buildings, for various uses, and in various kinds of architecture. It is not necessary that you should all live in one room. Let men build as they will and see what structures stand the test." (3:9-15.) St. Paul is opposing the divisive policy of "either-or." His plan is in essentials unity, but in non-essentials liberty. He would have difference without division.

It was reported as a matter of common scandal in the Corinthian congregation that one of the brethren had married his step-mother. The apostle deals with this offender briefly and peremptorily, advising that at the next meeting of the parish to consider cases of discipline he be put out.

It was reported that Christians were going to law against Christians, and carrying their disputes before the pagan courts (6:1-8). "Why do ye not rather take wrong?" Paul says, "Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?"

Then the epistle passes to the questions. First, concerning marriage. Paul advises against it. (Ch. 7.) This is not, however, for any ascetic reason, but as a matter of expediency. He writes as an unmarried man, who is abundantly satisfied with his single state. In other places in the letter he makes it plain that he regards women from the oriental point of view, as creatures inferior to men. At the same time, it is interesting to notice that it is in this chapter, which contributes so little to our present life, that the apostle frankly admits the possibility that he may be mistaken.

He perceives in his mind differing degrees of confidence. "I speak this," he says, "by permission, and not of commandment." "As to the rest," he says, referring to what he is about to advise, "speak I, not the Lord." And again, of another matter, "I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment." And still again, "After my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God."

Then, concerning food offered to idols (8-10). The religion of the pagan world touched life at every point. The rites of sacrifice carried the benediction of the altar to the domestic table. Part of the meat belonged to the god, part to the priest, the rest to the worshiper. On every occasion of festivity the guests partook of meat which had been thus blessed, having been offered to an idol. By the act of giving a portion in sacrifice, the god was invited to the dinner, and accepted the invitation, and sat with them out of sight. On such an occasion a Christian guest might say, "I know that an idol is nothing, the sacrificial aspects of this feast are of no concern to me;" and he might therefore eat freely of the idol meat. "But suppose," said the Corinthians, "that some Christian guest should not be of this opinion. To his conscience the partaking of this meat is sin. The effect of the example of the wise brother will be either to scandalize the weak brother, or to tempt him to do that which he believes to be wrong. What then? Shall the wise forego the liberty of his wisdom because of the weak?" St. Paul says, "Yes. There is something better than knowledge, and better even than the exercise of liberty, and that is

brotherly love. If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth. Freedom," he says further, "is a splendid privilege, but there is something else to be taken into account, and that is expediency. All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." And having thus dealt with a small, local question in so great a way that his method becomes an everlasting and universal principle, he concludes the discussion with the great saying, "Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

From this he turns to the next question which the Corinthians have brought to his decision: Shall women in church have their heads covered, or uncovered? One of his reasons for the covered head, "because of the angels," is of uncertain meaning. If the reference is to good angels, it may mean that they wish to see all things done decently and in order; if the reference is to bad angels, it seems to be connected with an obscure superstition. Another reason, with which he concludes the matter,—because "we have no such custom, neither the churches of God,"—seems to base a decision upon the principle of general conformity. "Do not be queer," he says to the Corinthian sisters. "Do not make yourselves conspicuous. Follow the common fashion." In the main, however, St. Paul makes it clear that the covered head means the inferiority of women to men. "A man ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man." (Here the modern woman, and also the modern man, inserts

an exclamation point.) "For this cause," *i. e.* as a mark of this inferiority, "the women ought to have power on her head." Instead of "power," the Revised Version reads "a sign of authority," a sign to show that the woman is under the authority of the man. If all of St. Paul's instructions had been as generally and faithfully followed as this, we should be living in a better world.

In the discussion which follows, touching the Lord's Supper (11:17-34), the "spiritual gifts" (12:13) and the "tongues," (14) the letter gives some curious information as to the religious services of the primitive church. They seem to have been of two kinds: a liturgy of Christ, centering about the Holy Communion, and a liturgy of the Spirit, in which the people spoke with "tongues." St. Paul criticizes the conduct of both of these services as grievously lacking in quietness and sobriety.

As for the Lord's Supper, it is hardly more than an incident in the course of a common meal. The people come in, perhaps bringing their own food with them, and sit down at once, without waiting for their neighbors, and proceed to eat as if that were the only purpose of their meeting. The scene is one of scandalous disorder. "In eating, every one taketh before others his own supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken." In the confusion some get hardly anything to eat, and others get altogether too much to drink. The apostle has to remind them of the conditions under which the Supper was instituted, and to warn them that in thus partaking of it they are committing a grave

offense. "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation" (or, as the Revised Version says, "condemnation") "to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." They are to discern the Lord's body; *i. e.* they are to make a difference (for that is what the word means), between this bread and other bread, and between this sacred feast and other feasts. The contrast between the confusion of the Corinthian table and the solemnity of the high altar is remarkable.

This confusion is worse confounded in the babel of the "unknown tongues." The history of religious revivals has interpreted this speech as an incoherent utterance, expressive not of any definite ideas but of emotions otherwise inexpressible. An overpowering sense of rapture, a joy too great for laughter or a penitential grief too deep for tears, cries out in these sounds. St. Paul, who could say, "I thank God I speak with tongues more than you all," said also, "If the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those who are unlearned and ignorant, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye be mad?" The voices of the Christian congregation engaged in this spiritual exercise sounded like a chorus in the violent ward of a hospital for the insane. Concerning this confusion St. Paul speaks with that controlling sanity and common sense which no tongues or visions ever interrupted. "I would rather speak five words," he says, "with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." So

with the other contributions which the faithful bring to the conduct of the meeting. "When ye come together every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying."

Even so, the apostle does not venture to suggest such a radical change as to require that no more than one of the brethren shall address the meeting at the same time. He would have only two preaching or praying or shouting at once, or at the most three! "If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself and to God. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy (or, as we say, preach) one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints."

With one element in this enthusiastic disorder, Paul deals sharply. The question of the Corinthians as to the head-covering of the women had referred particularly, and perhaps exclusively, to the women who prayed and preached in the congregation (11:5). Paul silences the women. "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted to them to speak, but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any-

thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

In the midst of these details, the value of which is mainly in the curious information which they give us as to the religious services of the parish of Corinth, suddenly the letter rises to a great spiritual height. These things are all very well, St. Paul says, tongues and prophecies, and the various offices of apostles, and teachers, and healers and helpers, and the like; but one thing is essential. "Covet earnestly the best gifts; and yet I show you a more excellent way." Then follows the exaltation of charity.

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am

known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

The letter contains another chapter, equally famous, in which the apostle discusses the resurrection of the body. The present body is buried, he says, and comes up no more out of the earth, like the seed. The "body that shall be" is other than that. The body of the resurrection is a spiritual body; by which is meant, not a body made of spirit, like a ghost, but a body adapted to the conditions of the life to come, the spiritual life, whatever the unknown conditions may be. To St. Paul one of the supreme satisfactions of death was that it was an escape from the body of this flesh. But his idea of the immortality of the soul was very different from the conception of the merging of the soul into the Over Soul, the taking of the spirit of the individual into the Spirit of the Universe, "as the drop falls into the crystal sea." His doctrine of the resurrection of the body was a belief in the continuance of individual identity after death. That is what he understood to be both illustrated and assured by the resurrection of Christ. Thus he replies to those among the Corinthians who were saying that there is no resurrection of the dead.

Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ:

whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised: and if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith, all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead? and why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak to your shame.

But some will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased

him, and to every seed his own body. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness; it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, "The first man Adam was made a living soul; The last Adam a quickening spirit." Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural: and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I shew you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding

in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

It is characteristic of St. Paul that these high sayings are followed immediately by a reminder of the collection! It is like the place in the gospel, where the Master having healed the ruler's little daughter says quietly in the midst of the tense emotion of the household, "Give her something to eat." "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem."

II

Between the first letter to the Corinthians and the second a year may have passed. For the *Second Epistle* was written after the tumult at Ephesus, in consequence of which Paul left the city, barely escaping with his life. To this he refers at the beginning of the letter. "We would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life." In the interval between the first letter and the second, Paul had visited Corinth several times. "This," he says near the end of the second letter, "is the third time I am coming to you." He had also written at least one letter. But

his last visit had been a painful visit (2:1), and his letter had been a painful letter.

A misunderstanding had arisen between St. Paul and his Corinthian converts by reason of the mischief-making of certain persons,—and of one man in particular,—in consequence of which the apostle had been contradicted, defied and insulted. He had not visited the parish again, fearing to make a bad matter worse.

Instead, he had written a letter. "I determined this with myself," he says, "that I would not come to you again in heaviness; and I wrote this same unto you, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice. I wrote that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things." But then, having this written, he was again filled with anxiety, doubting how they would take it. Accordingly, he sent Timothy to go to Corinth, and bring him word again. Before the messenger could return, the tumult in the defense of the goddess Diana had driven Paul from Ephesus. He went to Troas, hoping to find Timothy there. Missing him, he went thence to Macedonia. (2:12, 13.) There he found him, bringing a good report. The Corinthians had returned to their allegiance, and had imposed upon the ring-leader a punishment "which was inflicted of many." Thereupon, from somewhere in Macedonia, Paul wrote this *Second Epistle.*

The first part (1-9) is full of rejoicing; the second part (10-13) is so full of rebuke and condemnation that some scholars have found in it the painful letter which otherwise is lost. Perhaps so, though it hardly

fulfills the description, "out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears." There is much less of grief than of indignation in these chapters. Paul seems to turn from his faithful followers to the makers of the mischief, who are disposed to do more mischief still. He advises the forgiveness of the chief offender lest he be "swallowed up with overmuch sorrow," but regarding the general company of trouble-makers he expresses his strong, indignant opinion.

They had appeared in Corinth, it appears, with letters of commendation; perhaps, as in the case of the Galatian churches, from Jerusalem. They had called themselves apostles. They had boasted of their good birth and of their good works. It is with them in mind that Paul calls to remembrance his own labors and sufferings.

Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches.

The men who had set the Corinthians against Paul had attacked his character. It is against them that he is defending himself when he says that he and his companions approve themselves as ministers of God by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report: "as deceivers," so they say, "and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." In each of these alternatives the first term is probably a reflection of the criticisms of the "false brethren."

They remarked upon his personal appearance, and upon his defects as a preacher. "His letters," they said, "are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible" (10:10). They inferred from his visions that he was unbalanced in his mind. They even went so far as to suggest that he was making a "collection for the saints" with the purpose of using the money, or some of it, for the relief of such saints as Titus and himself. Paul has to say "I seek not yours, but you" (12:14). "I will very gladly spend and be spent for you," he says, "though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." "Did I make a gain of you?" he asks, "Did Titus make a gain of you?"

Many a minister, subjected to the criticisms of his congregation, has found a store of comfort in this hard experience. He has said to himself, "They criticize me, but so did they criticize St. Paul. Even St. Paul did not please everybody in the parish."

The hostile Corinthians attacked St. Paul's doctrine. "I fear," he says, "lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. For if he that cometh preacheth another Jesus whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another spirit which ye have not received, or another gospel which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him." The reference is obscure, but if the hostile teachers came from Jerusalem, and preached the sort of doctrine with which they had troubled the Galatians, they probably declared that Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, and not, as Paul preached, the Savior of the world. They sought to limit the great freedom of his Christian hospitality.

Against this he warns the faithful, but with confidence and in brotherly love, "writing," as he says again, "lest being present I should use sharpness." "Finally, brethren," he says, "farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, live in peace; and the God of peace and love shall be with you."

XIX

THE LATER EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

WRITING from Corinth to the Christians in Rome, St. Paul told them that he was expecting to make them a visit. "Having now no more place in these parts," he says, "and having a great desire these many years to come unto you, whensoever I take my journey into Spain I will come to you. But first I must go to Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. When I have performed this, and have sealed them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain." He anticipates, however, that trouble and hindrance may attend the performance of this kindly mission, and he asks the assistance of their prayers. "I beseech you, brethren, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them which do not believe in Judea, and that my service which I have for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints, that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed."

This foreboding of evil was fully warranted by the events which followed.

The foreign missionary returned from his successful labors, from evangelizations which have affected the whole course of subsequent history, to a community which was in part indifferent, and in part actively hostile to foreign missions. The Jews of Jerusalem, in whose eyes Paul was a rebel and the leader of a revolution, were bitterly opposed to his hospitality to the Gentiles; and many of the Christians of that city, being Christians and Jews at the same time, agreed with them. No record remains of the manner in which the collection was received, whereby Paul had hoped to bring about a better feeling of the Jews for the Gentiles. His fraternal purpose seems to have accomplished nothing. On the contrary he was met with rather formal courtesy, and was immediately made to understand that he was under grave suspicion. "Thou seest, brother," they said, "how many thousands of the Jews there are which believe, and they are all jealous of the law, and they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together, for they hear that thou art come. Do therefore this which we say unto thee." They then proposed that Paul should associate with several brethren who were both Jews and Christians, and who were thus purposing to keep one of the customs by making an offering in the temple.

This he did, and being recognized by Jews from

Ephesus,—in which place the enmity against Paul had been so fierce that he told the Corinthians that he had fought with wild beasts there,—a tumult was raised, and Paul was with difficulty rescued from the mob by the Roman guard. The soldiers succeeded in getting him a chance to speak, and the crowd listened to his account of himself until he quoted the voice of the Lord who said, "I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles." "They gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices, and said, 'Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live.' And they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air."

With this curious scene the missionary activity of Paul came to an abrupt end. He was brought to trial before the council of the Jews, but the hearing of the case was interrupted by the discovery of a plot of more than forty men who bound themselves under a great curse that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him. Thereupon the Roman authorities sent the prisoner with an armed escort to Cæsarea, where he lay for two years. Then, when a new governor proposed to send him back to Jerusalem for further trial, he availed himself of his right as a Roman citizen and appealed to Cæsar. This appeal carried him—very differently from his hopes and expectations—to Rome.

In Rome, waiting for his appeal to be heard and decided, he wrote letters: three to people in Asia Minor, one to the Philippians, and three to men who had been his fellow-workers.

I

Philemon, Colossians and *Ephesians* were written at the same time, and to people who lived in the same neighborhood in Asia Minor. In both *Colossians* and *Ephesians,* Tychicus is mentioned as the bearer. "That ye may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things" (*Eph.* 6:21, 22). "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister in the Lord" (*Col.* 4:7). In both *Colossians* and *Philemon* mention is made of Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon, who is described to the Colossians as "a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you."

The note to Philemon shows the attitude of Paul toward the institution of slavery. Onesimus, a slave belonging to Philemon, had escaped and sought a hiding place in Rome. There he had come to the knowledge, and under the influence, of Paul, who had received him into the Christian society. According to all the principles of Paul's religion, slavery was a hideous thing. It contradicted the liberty, the equality and the fraternity which he perpetually preached. Yet he sent Onesimus back into his old bondage. He did indeed suggest to Philemon that he should receive him "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved." And, no doubt, the state of Onesimus under these conditions was a great improvement not only over other slaves but even over many freemen. Still, he remained a slave.

He was the property of Philemon. We look in vain for any direction to Philemon to set Onesimus free.

This may be because slavery seemed to St. Paul, on the whole, a beneficent institution. It was plainly better than the preceding custom of killing all the prisoners of war. Or it may be that slavery was so integral a part of the contemporary life that it seemed to belong to the course of nature. It was like famine and pestilence, of which people complained bitterly but which they endured because the world appeared to be made that way. Or it may be that St. Paul felt that one war was enough at a time. He was fighting a great fight for religious liberty, and the contention for social and industrial liberty must wait. It is manifestly in vain that anybody attempts to reform the whole world in all points at one time. Anyhow, confronting the evil of slavery, as we confront the evil of war, his policy was to mitigate it rather than to attack it.

Philemon lived in Colosse, a village in the neighborhood of Laodicea, not far from Ephesus. Epaphras, the minister of the parish there, perhaps the founder of it, visiting St. Paul in Rome, had given him information as to the progress of the Christian religion in those parts. In consequence of this account, which represented the situation as mostly good but partly bad, Paul wrote a letter to the Colossians, and at the same time a longer letter which is inscribed in our version to the Ephesians.

These two epistles are related the one to the other as *Galatians* is related to *Romans*. In each case the shorter epistle deals with local conditions to which the

apostle addresses himself directly in a personal letter; while the longer epistle deals with the subject in general, with very little personal reference, the discussion taking the form of a treatise.

Among these people had arisen a heresy which afterward, in its developed form, was called Gnosticism. The word *gnosis* (knowledge) was used in this connection to indicate the difference between the intelligent and the unintelligent, or rather between the initiated and the uninitiated. In the Colossian parish a group of Christians, students of a current philosophy, were priding themselves upon a knowledge of God and of the world in which their simpler brethren could not share. One thing which they knew was that matter is essentially evil. Thus they solved the problem of the origin of sin: sin comes from the material body in which, unhappily, we live. Another thing which they knew was that God is infinitely remote, and that between him and us are celestial beings,—angels, æons, emanations, —by one of whom, not by God himself, this material world and all things material in it were made.

These doctrines had definite practical results. The idea that God is infinitely remote led to the assertion that Christ is one of the angels or æons who intervene between us and him. And the idea that matter is essentially evil, besides encouraging an asceticism which brought the soul into hostility to the whole of the bodily life, maintained that the incarnation was either a temporary arrangement or an illusion. Either the æon Christ entered into the man Jesus at his baptism and departed from him before his crucifixion, or else the

whole bodily life of Christ was not real but only apparent. How could he have had a body, which by the theory is wholly evil? He only seemed to have a body.

With this heresy, Paul deals in the *Epistle to the Colossians.*

As for the notion that the world was made by an angel who was so remote from God as to be more bad than good, Paul maintains not only that the one manifestation of the invisible God is Jesus Christ, but that by him were all things created: "who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; for by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him." (*Col.* 1:15, 16). A similar list appears in *Ephesians.* Christ, he says, is set at the right hand of God in the heavenly places, "far above all principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come" (*Eph.* 1:20, 21). The reference appears to be to the Gnostic titles of their hierarchy of celestial beings. St. Paul does not stop to debate whether they exist or not. Over them all, he says, is Christ.

As for the theory that evil may be escaped by depressing or distressing the body, denying all the natural appetites, the apostle maintains that there is no mechanical way of being saved. The salvation of the soul is not by any Jewish observances: "let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect

of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are but a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." The salvation of the soul is not by any ascetic practises: "if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances,—touch not, taste not, handle not,—after the commandments and doctrines of men; which things have indeed a show of wisdom, in will worship, and humility and neglecting of the body; not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh."

The theme of the epistle is the Exaltation of Christ, who is both the maker of the world, and the head of the church, the redeemer of mankind. This is expanded in the *Epistle to the Ephesians.*

At the end of *Colossians,* St. Paul mentions a letter which they are to receive from him by way of Laodicea. "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea." This reference, together with the curious fact that *Ephesians* contains no messages to friends in Ephesus, suggests that what we have here is a circular letter, meant for the churches of that neighborhood in turn. Let the Laodiceans send it to the Colossians, and the Colossians to the parish at Hierapolis, and thence to the Ephesians.

The supremacy of Christ, which is asserted in *Colossians* mainly in reference to the world, of which he is the maker, is here asserted mainly in reference to the church, of which he is the head. To the doctrine of

Romans, that justification is by faith in Christ, is added in *Ephesians* the doctrine that salvation is by union with Christ in the church.

Thus Christ is not only "far above all principality and power" but is "the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Ye "are built," he says, "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom also ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." A characteristic passage is at the end of the third chapter.

I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height: and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.

Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,—unto him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

And again, at the end of the fifth chapter, where a consideration of the duties of wives to their husbands passes into the idea of the relationship between Christ and the church.

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the Head of the Church: and he is the Saviour of the body; therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it: that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.

II

To Paul in Rome, as before in Thessalonica, a gift of money was sent by the Philippians; but the messenger, Epaphroditus, whom the apostle calls "my brother, and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier," had fallen sick. Being now recovered, and returning home, St. Paul entrusts him with an *Epistle to the Philippians*. It is a friendly, affectionate, appreciative letter, having no other purpose than to thank these faithful friends for their remembrance of him, and to tell them how he is. Its interest for us is in its references to the experience through which the writer is passing, and in its disclosure of his spirit.

He is unfailingly optimistic.

I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the Word without fear.

Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds: but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death.

For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labour: yet what I shall choose I wot not. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith; that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again.

His face is toward the future.

If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more: circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the Church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.

But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

He can do all things by the help of Christ.

I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and suffer need. I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me.

III

The three remaining letters, the "pastoral epistles," are addressed to Timothy and Titus.

They refer to events in the life of St. Paul about which we have no other information. His appeal to Cæsar seems to have been decided in his favor, though he was again arrested and finally condemned. "At

my first answer," he says, apparently referring to a first trial, "no man stood with me, but all men forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." Being thus delivered, he spent some time in Crete, where he left Titus in charge; and some time at Ephesus, where he established Timothy, going thence to Macedonia. These journeys perplex scholars, and make many of them doubtful of the Pauline authorship of these epistles.

Further difficulties are raised by references to ecclesiastical and theological conditions which seem to be too organized and settled for the lifetime of St. Paul. There are bishops and deacons with their responsibilities rather distinctly defined. And faith which has before been synonymous with loyalty seems now to be synonymous with orthodoxy. The epistles speak of *the* faith, embodied in a "form of sound words."

There is general agreement, however, in ascribing to St. Paul himself the words in the Second Epistle to Timothy which contain his farewell message, the summary of his life and of his hope.

I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.

XX

THE FIVE SERMONS

THE epistles of St. Paul are followed by five pieces of writing which are more or less in epistolary form, but rather less than more. These are *Hebrews, James, First* and *Second Peter,* and then, after the Johannine letters, *Jude.* They are like sermons.

The authorship of each of these pieces is doubtful, and in each case the doubts go back, far behind all modern criticism, to the fathers of the church. At the same time, in no case is the value of the book dependent on the author. Each stands on its own merits, and is no more affected by any decision as to the name which properly belongs at the top of the page than *Hamlet* is affected by the debate between the Shakespeareans and the Baconians.

I

We begin with *James,* because some scholars give to this writing a very early date, before Paul. The James thus intended was one of the Lord's brothers,—one of the four brothers (*Mk.* 6:3) of whom the others were named Joseph and Judas and Simon. He had not been a disciple during the ministry of Jesus. His brethren, we are told, (*Jn.* 7:5) did not believe on him. The resurrection, however, brought him into the company

of the faithful (*Acts* 1:14), and after a while he became the leader of the Jerusalem Christians. Thus it was James who pronounced the decision of the conference at Jerusalem (*Acts* 15:13), over which he seems to have presided.

If James wrote this epistle he maintained a singular silence regarding his great relationship, and regarding not only his high place in Jerusalem but all the tradition of conservatism and continuance in the old Jewish ways which are associated with him. One theory is that this is a purely Jewish document (excepting 2:1) to which some copyist of the manuscript prefixed the first verse as his guess at the original writer. The theory serves at least to illustrate the proposition that this is a Hebrew rather than a Christian writing. On the other hand, there is a theory that this book though it barely mentions the name of Jesus is as full of his teaching as the Sermon on the Mount, which, in some places, it resembles. It is suggested that the author is quoting sentence after sentence from words of Christ nowhere else recorded. So far as this may be granted, the epistle represents the earlier phase of Christian teaching, before the gospel *of* Christ—the truths which he taught—had been followed, and to some extent superseded, by the gospel *about* Christ.

In any case, the book belongs to that "literature of wisdom," of which *Proverbs* is the most familiar example. Much of it is in the form of detached sentences, each containing its own distinct word of good advice. Other parts deal with a subject about which such sentences are collected. The pearls are strung on a string.

An illustration of the proverbial form is the famous definition of true religion.

If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

More extended consideration is given to temptation (1:2-15), to the relation between faith and works (2:14-26), and to the offenses of the tongue (3:2-13). Characteristic of the writer is his strong condemnation of the rich.

My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts? Hearken, my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him? But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?

And again.

Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were

fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the cars of the Lord of sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.

II

Concerning Jude, who calls himself the brother of James, nothing further is known. He says that he was about to write an ordinary letter when word was brought to him that the people to whom he intended to write were at that moment in peril of heresy. Thereupon he laid aside his first paper, and wrote this. The heresy against which this letter was directed is not so described that we are able to identify it. Neither are the readers of the epistle reinforced against it by any provision of sound reasoning. The writer offers neither criticism nor argument. What he does is to abuse the heretics, calling them names,—"fifthy dreamers," "brute breasts," and the like,—and threatening them with such punishments as befell the most notorious sinners of antiquity,—the rebel angels, the citizens of Sodom. The letter contributes nothing to religion but a bad example of ill-tempered and altogether unchristian controversy.

III

The fact that this letter is quoted, almost in full, with slight changes, in the *Second Epistle of Peter,*

casts serious suspicion upon the Petrine authorship of that document. For this was not at all the spirit of St. Peter. His faults leaned quite the other way, toward compromise, or at least toward conciliation. He was an eminently friendly person, who disliked to differ from his neighbors, and sought to find excuse even for their most evil conduct. He had no malediction even for Judas Iscariot. It has been guessed that perhaps *Jude,* written on a single leaf, was accidentally slipped in between the two leaves of Second Peter, and in this manner came to be his second chapter, between the first and the third!

But the other chapters also are denied to Peter by many scholars, even from the time of Origen in the third century, by whom it is first mentioned. Peter, he says, left one epistle which is generally accepted, "and, if you will, a second, which is questioned." A rather late date is suggested by the reference (3:4) to the "last days," since the fathers "fell asleep;" and to the epistles of St. Paul, collected, and set up reverently with the "other scriptures." (3:15, 16).

The *First Epistle of Peter* is addressed "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia." The order of names appears to indicate the stages of the journey of the messenger, from west to east, and thus assists in the interpretation of "Babylon," from which the letter is sent, as meaning Rome. The name is used mystically as in *Revelation.* The author is the apostle Peter, but the writer is Silvanus (5:12). This is the Silvanus whom we have met already, under the shortened name of

Silas, in the company of Paul (*Acts* 15:40, 16:19-40, 17:10). Remembering that Peter spoke Aramaic, and needed to have Mark interpret his sermons into Greek, we may give credit to Silvanus for the good Greek of this epistle, and it may be that several Pauline expressions in it should be traced to the same hand.

The occasion of the letter was a persecution under which the Christians were suffering. The purpose of the apostle was partly to encourage those who were thus afflicted, and partly to exhort them not to deserve persecution by any evil doing. He would have Christians known for their good citizenship and their quiet conduct. Christian slaves ought to be distinguished for the patience with which they endure injustice; and Christian wives and husbands, neighbors and brethren, ought so to live "that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evildoers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ."

Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul; having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.

Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear;

not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

And again.

Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you: but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye: for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evildoer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

IV

There is no writer's name in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. The ascription of the book to Paul the apostle is the guess of the scribe to whose copy we are indebted. He also guessed that it was written to the Hebrews, *i. e.,* to Christians who had been Jews, probably because the premises of the writer's argument are such as to appeal to such readers.

The Pauline authorship of *Hebrews* is made improbable, if not impossible, by several considerations. All the letters which Paul is known to have written have his name in the salutation at the beginning; this is anonymous. The attitude of Paul toward the other apostles was one of emphatic independence; his gospel, as he said, came not from them but straight from heaven: he would hardly have said that it was "confirmed unto us by them that heard the Lord" (2:3). The literary style of *Hebrews* differs from that of the Pauline epistles as the manner of Macaulay differs from that of Carlyle. The method and spirit of the writer of this book are different from the method and spirit of St. Paul.

Thus the Judaism with which Paul deals is the Judaism of the Pharisees, who are concerned with ritual observances, while the writer of *Hebrews* has in mind the Judaism of the priests, whose sacrifices are compared with the sacrifice of the death of Christ. And the method of Paul is one of contention, while the method of *Hebrews* is one of conciliation. To the mind of Paul, Judaism is a bondage too grievous to be borne,

and Christianity is an escape into a glorious liberty. To the writer of *Hebrews,* Christianity differs from Judaism mainly in degree: it is a higher Judaism, a fulfillment of all that is best in the old religion, the reality of which Judaism is the shadow or symbol.

If St. Paul, then, did not write *Hebrews,* who did? Tertullian, at the end of the second century, guessed that the writer was Barnabas. Professor Harnack guesses that the writer was Priscilla, wife of Aquila. Others guess Apollos. Fortunately, we do not need to know. Nothing of importance in the interpretation of this writing depends on the name of the writer. As for the date it is certainly before the year 95, when it was quoted by Clement of Rome, and probably before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, an event of which the writer would naturally have made use had it already taken place.

The purpose is to encourage those who are under two great difficulties.

One difficulty arises from a doubt as to whether the new religion is, after all, so good as the old. We have left the ancient church whose foundations are in the Bible, whose minority has come in orderly succession from the consecration of Aaron, in whose devout customs we were brought up. Instead of the sanctions of the long past, we have the experiments and uncertainties present. We have abandoned the splendors of the temple, and the light and color and music of its reverent services, for the informalities of the Christian upper rooms. And we have broken with our friends. Is it worth while? Have we made a wise choice? It is

the kind of anxiety and unrest which must have been felt by many a Protestant who had separated himself from the Church of Rome.

In reply, the writer maintains the superiority of the Christian religion. Christ, he says, who is higher than the angels (1:2) is of more glory than Moses, even as a son is better than a servant (3) and has a more sacred priesthood than that of Aaron (4-7). As Paul, remembering the early chapters of *Genesis,* had declared that Christ is a second Adam, into whose spiritual family we enter by baptism as we enter the natural family of the first Adam by birth, so the writer of *Hebrews,* quoting from the same book, maintains that Christ is a second Melchizedek, referring to that mysterious personage, king of Salem, and priest of the most high God, independent of ordination or descent, to whom even Abraham paid homage (*Gen.* 14:18-20). So too is the service and the sanctuary of the new religion better than the old (8-10), its service being that of a new covenant between God and man, and its sanctuary heaven itself.

The other difficulty is like that to which the *First Epistle of Peter* is addressed: the sufferings of those who having made this choice are enduring the distresses of persecution. They have not yet "resisted unto blood" (12:4) but they have had the unhappy experience of the spoiling of their goods (10:34).

In reply the writer cites the inspiriting examples of the worthies of old time. In his famous eleventh chapter they march before us in procession, the heroes and martyrs of faith.

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For by it the elders obtained a good report.

Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear. By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts: and by it he being dead yet speaketh. By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God. But without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith. By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise: for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Through faith also Sarah herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised. Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable.

These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from

whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city.

By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son, of whom it was said:—"That in Isaac shall thy seed be called;" accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead: from whence also he received him in a figure. By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau concerning things to come. By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph; and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff. By faith Joseph, when he died, made mention of the departing of the children of Israel; and gave commandment concerning his bones. By faith Moses when he was born, was hid three months of his parents, because they say he was a proper child; and they were not afraid of the king's commandment. By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter: choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible. Through faith he kept the passover, and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the firstborn should touch them. By faith they passed through the Red sea as by dry land: which the Egyptians essaying to do were drowned. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days. By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace.

And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae; of David also, and Samuel, and of

the prophets: who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection: and others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.

And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

The subject of *Hebrews* is the Heavenly Priesthood of Christ. The writer, who says of Christ that he was "tempted in all things like as we are," though without sin, and that "in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, he was heard in that he feared," and "though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things

which he suffered;" adds that "being made perfect he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him" (5:7-9). In the heavenly places, as a priest forever, he makes intercession for us.

XXI

THE JOHANNINE BOOKS

FIVE books remain to be considered, a gospel, three epistles and the *Revelation.* All of them, in our Bible, bear the name of John.

The question of authorship is still under debate, and various opinions find good standing under the names of excellent scholars. Thus some think that all five of these books were written by John the apostle. Some would except the *Revelation,* holding that while the writer's name was John he was not an apostle but a prophet, (*Rev.* 22:9) between which orders St. Paul makes a distinction (*I Cor.* 12:28). Some would except the *Second* and *Third Epistles,* which begin in the name of "the elder" *i. e.* "the presbyter," and may therefore be attributed to John the presbyter, whom Papias mentions as a person of importance in his neighborhood near Ephesus. Some who would assign both the *First Epistle* and the *Gospel* to John the apostle are inclined to say of the gospel that it is "according to St. John," as the first gospel is "according to St. Matthew," in the sense of containing much information which was derived from him, but which was gathered and put in writing by another person, a disciple of the apostle, whom we may therefore call John the evangelist.

These questions were of considerable importance when the test of the value of ancient Christian writings turned upon the name of the writer, and a book was declared to be good if it could be proved to have had an apostle for its author. We do not at present stand in this ancient awe of apostles as apostles. We conceive it not unlikely that a book by St. James the Less might be entirely uninteresting, and that St. Simon the Zealot might be led by his zealous spirit to speak unadvisedly with his pen. The test of the value of a book is the book. At the same time, while we say this as to *Revelation* and the three epistles, about whose authorship we care little, we have a different feeling as to the gospel. It is of much concern to us to know how near we come in this book to the actual presence of Jesus Christ.

I

The earliest evidence as to the authorship of the *Fourth Gospel* is in the appendix to that book. The gospel ends with the conclusion of the twentieth chapter. "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." Then a chapter is added, at the close of which, referring to "the disciple whom Jesus loved, who also leaned upon his breast at supper," it is said "this is the disciple which testifieth of these things and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true." This may apply only to the

appendix, but it probably applies to the whole book. Who these are whose certificate is thus made we do not know; nor is it absolutely certain, though most likely, that the disciple whom Jesus loved was the apostle John.

The first clear statement is made by Irenæus. He was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John the apostle. "You remember," he says in a letter to his fellow-disciple Florinus, "how Polycarp used to tell us what he had been told by John." The connection is so close as to give great value to the assertion of Irenæus, "John, the disciples of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, published a gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia." Irenæus also says that John lived in Ephesus until the reign of Trajan; which began in the year 98.

Over against this clear evidence are several conflicting considerations. One is the statement, attributed to Papias, that John suffered martyrdom, along with James his brother, at the hands of the Jews, in the middle of the first century. This, if it could be verified, would of course settle the matter. In view, however, of the plain testimony of Irenæus, and of the general tradition that John outlived the other apostles, one would like to know more certainly just what Papias said. There is a possibility here of misquotation, or of misunderstanding.

As for the fact that the gospel is written in excellent Greek, and that the prologue seems to show acquaintance with Alexandrian philosophy, and that this is inconsistent with the education of John the fisherman of

Galilee, we may readily make room here for John the evangelist. As we have in the *Second Gospel* the recollections of St. Peter translated and recorded for us by the evangelist Mark, so in the *Fourth Gospel* we may have the recollections of St. John brought to us in a like manner. We may have the *First Epistle* also from the same hand, some unnamed secretary and translator doing for John what Silvanus did for Peter.

As for the surpassing greatness of the book,—one of the supreme treasures not only of religion but of literature,—and the contrast which it opposes to everything else which is known about John, it may be said that the same contrast perplexes the scholars who compare the subtilty of *Hamlet* with the hopelessly commonplace character of almost everything which is known about Shakespeare. The truth is that genius grows up like a rare flower out of most unpromising soil. Moreover this gospel, which has the singular peculiarity of never mentioning the name of the apostle John, may illustrate the illumination of the soul of a man who has not only been with Jesus, but has thereafter spent many years pondering the meaning of that which he saw and heard.

Coming now to the gospel itself, it is evidently different from the other three in its account of the ministry of Jesus. Up to the beginning of the last week, there is hardly anything in *John* which is to be found in *Matthew, Mark* or *Luke*. This difference, however, is not contradictory but supplementary. The *Fourth Gospel* adds to the other three an account of a ministry in Judea and Jerusalem, as the *Third Gospel* had already added to the other two an account of a ministry

in Perea, on the other side of Jordan (*Mk.* 10:1, *Lk.* 9:51-18:14). If Luke, instead of taking over into his gospel the recollections of Peter and the records of Matthew, had used only the materials which he derived from other sources, we would have had a book which would have differed from the others in almost all of the details of its presentation of the ministry of Jesus. It would have differed from them not only in its scene but in its spirit. It would have been a social gospel. It would have begun with the appearance of the Christmas angels to the simple shepherds of Bethlehem, in contrast with the Epiphany kings of *Matthew;* it would have included that democratic and revolutionary anthem, the *Magnificat;* and it would have narrated a series of social parables, such as the Good Samaritan, and the Rich Man and Lazarus. This kind of gospel John has made, using material to which the other evangelists had no access, and producing a book which portrays Jesus under an aspect unlike that of either the Perean or the Galilean ministry. The result is a spiritual gospel.

The difference, however, between the *Fourth Gospel* and the three consists in much more than addition. Jesus speaks here in a manner quite other than that to which the earlier gospels have accustomed us: in sentences long and mystical. It is the style of St. John's *First Epistle.* The inference is that the evangelist, following the example of the historians of that time, wrote these discourses himself. This he may well have done on the basis of what Jesus actually said, according to his own memory; directly, if the gospel was written by

the apostle John himself, or indirectly, if it was written by a disciple of the apostle. In either case, many years had passed since the words were spoken,—forty, fifty, sixty years. Over such a space even an Oriental memory would hardly carry an extended sequence of sentences. The ideas would be remembered, but the expression of them must be now made, to a large extent, in the manner not of the speaker but of the writer.

The difference in the discourses of Jesus in the first three gospels and in the fourth is illustrated by the difference between Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates,* and Plato's *Dialogues.* Here is plainly the same Socrates, concerning whom each of these disciples bears his testimony according to his own spirit and ability. One is a soldier, whose impression of Socrates reveals him as a homely, simple and direct speaker, wonderful as a teacher, and more wonderful as an inspired man. The other is a scholar, whose mind responds to notes in the voice of Socrates which the ear of the soldier never heard; the simplicity, directness, homeliness, remain but are taken over into profundity and sublimity. There is hardly more difference between the Jesus of the *Fourth Gospel* and of the three than there is between the Socrates of Xenophon and of Plato.

What we have in the *Fourth Gospel* is a special aspect of the teaching of Jesus, recorded for a special purpose. The rise of the Gnostic heresy had forced upon the church the necessity of defining the person of Christ. How was he related to this material body, in which the Gnostics found the source of all evil? How was he related to the God of the universe, who accord-

ing to the Gnostics is infinitely removed from all our life? He said much about conduct, what did he say about himself? St. John searches his memory of the ministry of Jesus for answers to these questions. He does not mean to write a life of Christ, but rather to bring forward such aspects of that life as bear upon the contemporary difficulties of belief. "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Here the name Jesus carries with it the assertion of the humanity of Christ: he did not merely appear to be a man and have a body, as the Gnostics held. And the title, Son of God, is an assertion of the divinity of Christ: he was not merely an angel or an æon, as the Gnostics taught.

Thus in Browning's poem *A Death in the Desert,* the aged apostle describes his writing, how he

> ". . . patient stated much of the Lord's life
> Forgotten or misdelivered, and let it work:
> Since much that at the first, in deed and word,
> Lay simply and sufficiently exposed,
> Had grown (or else my soul was grown to match,
> Fed through such years, familiar with such light,
> Guarded and guided still to see and speak)
> Of new significance and fresh result;
> What first were guessed as points, I now knew stars,
> And named them in the gospel I have writ."

By some such process, through years of experience and reflection, the *Fourth Gospel* was written; as when by long examination of a beautiful object in nature or art the observer discovers wonders that he has missed in his first studies. So to the patient and careful writer of a biography, who collects his materials, and reads a

thousand letters, and broods over these things through a course of years, the nobility of a hero or the sanctity of a saint may be revealed as nobody had seen it before. The "points," as they are observed day by day, are at last recognized as stars.

The gospel rises to its greatest heights in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters; one of them containing the discourse in the upper room, and the other the words of the Master to his disciples as they go out together into the paschal moonlight toward the Garden of Gethsemane.

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself: that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Thomas saith unto him:—"Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?" Jesus said unto him:—

"I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him.

"Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.

"I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except

ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.

"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you.

"These things I command you, that ye love one another. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Remember the word that I said unto you, 'The servant is not greater than his lord.' If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you: if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me."

II

Of the three epistles, the second and third are notes rather than letters. One was written to a church, which is called the "elect lady"; the other to a member of the congregation, named Gaius. The two seem to have been sent on the same day, in preparation for an expected visit. Thus, in the *Second Epistle,* "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write with paper and ink, but I trust to come unto you, and speak face to face, that our joy may be full." And again, in the *Third Epistle,* "I had many things to write, but I

will not with ink and pen write unto thee, but I trust I shall shortly see thee, and we shall speak face to face." The little letters give us a dim glimpse of wandering preachers, some of whom are deceivers who "confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh": Gnostic heretics who can not believe that the divine Christ really had a human body. If any such come, "receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." Other preachers, of a different doctrine, are to be brought forward on their journey "after a godly sort." But these good men, Diotrophes, "who loveth to have the pre-eminence," but who seems to have been a bit of a heretic himself, not only refuses to receive, but proposes that such as do receive them shall be cast out of the church. It is like opening a door for a moment upon a clamor of contending voices, and then shutting it again.

The *First Epistle* is without writer's name, like the other two, but it is plainly by the same hand as the gospel. It is concerned in part with an error in theology, and in part with an error in morality. The false doctrine is the Gnostic theory that Christ could not have come in the flesh. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist whereof ye have heard that should come, and even now already it is in the world." The wrong conduct proceeds from a theory that a Christian can not sin, being above the law. It may have been a perver-

sion of St. Paul's doctrine of salvation by faith not by works. Against this, the writer says, "If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" and again, "He that saith I know him, and keepeth not his commandments is a liar." In one place the epistle seems to countenance the notion which it is meant to contradict: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." But the idea is that the outer life reveals the inner spirit, and shows of what sort we are. "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." "Little children, let no man deceive you, he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the devil."

St. John agrees with St. Paul in making brotherly love the summit and summary of all ethical excellence. He speaks with an eloquence which sets some parts of this epistle by the side of the great chapter on charity.

Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.

Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in

us, because he hath given us of his spirit. And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us.

God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment: because as he is, so are we in this world. There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love. We love him because he first loved us. If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also.

III

The *Revelation* was written by a man named John: so much is clearly stated. It is unlikely, however, that he was the John of the gospel, for the two books are markedly different, both in style and in spirit. The literary style of the *Fourth Gospel* is that of a man of education; the language of the *Revelation* is that of a man of genius, who has the expression of a poet, and speaks in splendid sentences,—not all of which are quite correct grammatically.

The chief difference is in spirit. The gospel and the epistles agree in presenting Jesus as a man, supernatural but still natural; the writer of *Revelation* sees among the golden candlesticks "one like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot and girt about the breast with a golden girdle. His head

and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow, and his eyes were as a flame of fire, and his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace, and his voice as the sound of many waters." This might be explained as the difference between prose and poetry. But not so the contrast between the brotherly love which is praised and exalted in the gospel and the *First Epistle,* and the hatred and vengeance of the *Revelation.* The whole book exults over the approaching punishment and destruction of Rome, as Nahum, in a former time, had exulted over the fall of Nineveh. Between the saint who said, "He that hateth his brother is a murderer," and the saints who cried, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth," there is a whole diameter of difference. The contrast is plain to every reader between the quiet, serene mysticism of the *Gospel of John* and the vindictive passion of the *Revelation of John.* If the apostle wrote the *Revelation,*—fulfilling his character as one of the Boanerges, "sons of thunder,"—he must have done so very early in his ministry, while he was still only partially converted. But the book seems to have been written to the beginning of the last decade of the first century, the time of Domitian.

Revelation belongs to a considerable body of writings, of which *Daniel* and *Zechariah* are the most familiar examples in the Old Testament. The *Book of Enoch,* and the *Assumption of Moses,* which are quoted in *Jude,* belong to the same class. All such writings agree in their occasion, their purpose and

their method. The occasion is the oppression or the persecution of the faithful at the hands of a cruel and dominant nation; the purpose is to comfort and hearten those who are thus suffering with the promise of a sure deliverance; and the method is the use of strange, cryptic figures or symbols, often in the form of beasts with many heads and horns, and the representation of great events in the guise of falling stars and skies.

The occasion here is the persecution of the Christians by the Romans; as *Daniel* was occasioned by the persecution of the Jews by the Greeks. The number of the beast at the end of the thirteenth chapter spells the name of Nero Cæsar. This is what six hundred and sixty-six amounts to when the figures are given their equivalents in Hebrew letters. Plainly, it was not safe to write such names in Greek or Latin. Reference is made in their veiled way to the belief among the people of the empire that Nero, though he had been killed, would come to life again. "I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed; and all the world wondered after the beast" (13:3). Reference is made also to the requirement that all men should worship the image of the emperor, upon pain of death, a requirement under which many martyrs lost their lives. He said "to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak and cause that as many as

would not worship the image of the beast should be killed."

The purpose is to encourage those who are under persecution with the assurance that God shall surely help them by the overthrow of their enemies, and that soon. "Behold, I come quickly." "These things are faithful and true, and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done." "He that testifieth these things said, 'Surely, I will come quickly.'" To which the seer responds, "Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus." Thus the meaning of *Revelation,* like all the other "revelations," is primarily local. The book has no application beyond the reign of the Emperor Domitian, except so far as it deals with a situation in the first century on the basis of principles which are everlastingly valid.

The subject of the book is the Sure Destruction of the Enemies of God. It begins with a short prologue which prays for a blessing on the reader, and ends with a short epilogue which pronounces a curse on any writer who copies the manuscript incorrectly. Between is a series of seven visions.

1. Christ in glory sends messages (1-3) to the seven churches of Asia Minor.

2. One who is represented by the symbol of a lamb "as it had been slain, having seven heads and seven horns," opens one after another the seven seals of a book (4-7) and the opening of each seal is followed by some figure of calamity: the first by victory on a white horse, the second by war on a red horse, the

third by famine on a black horse, the fourth by death on a pale horse. After the fifth seal, the souls of the martyrs cry for vengeance; after the sixth, there is an earthquake, and an eclipse, and the Day of the Lord seems about to appear. But there is an interlude of adoring saints.

After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands: and cried with a loud voice, saying:—"Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying:—"Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." And one of the elders answered, saying unto me:—"What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?" And I said unto him:—"Sir, thou knowest." And he said to me:—"These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

The opening of the seventh seal is followed not by the final consummation but by a half-hour of preparatory silence which leads to the beginning of another series.

3. Seven angels blow seven trumpets (8-11) and after each blast follows a calamity: there is fire on the earth, fire on the sea, poison in the rivers, the skies fall, out of the bottomless pit come demon locusts, and from the Euphrates an army of demon horsemen. Then another interlude: a book is eaten, two witnesses finish their testimony, and a beast from the bottomless pit overcomes them and kills them, and their dead bodies lie "in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." There they lie "three days and a half." "And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." Then the witnesses come to life again, and ascend up into heaven in a cloud. The blast of the seventh trumpet is succeeded by a proclamation of triumph. "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever."

4. The chapters which follow (12-14) are the most difficult in the book. There appears a woman, with a new-born child, attacked by a red dragon, and defended by Michael the archangel. Two beasts arise out of the sea, one with seven heads, suggesting the seven hills of Rome, the other with the mystic number six hundred and three score and six. A lamb stands on Mount Sion, with the multitude of the redeemed about him. And then angels: one proclaiming the everlasting gospel,—another crying "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city;" a third denouncing the wor-

shipers of the beast, and praising the patience of the saints. "I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them." Other angels come with sharp sickles to reap the harvest of the world.

5. After this, seven angels pour out on the earth the vials of the wrath of God (15, 16): on the earth, whence comes a noisome and grievous sore on all men; on the sea, which becomes blood, and likewise, with the same effect, on the rivers; on the sun, which thereupon scorches men with a great heat; on the kingdom of the beast, where men gnaw their tongues for pain. The sixth angel pours his vial on the Euphrates, out of which come three demon frogs to gather the kings of the earth to the battle of the great day of the Lord God Almighty in the field of Armageddon. At the pouring of the seventh vial there are voices and thunders and lightnings, and a mighty earthquake and "great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath."

6. Then is destroyed that mighty oppressing city which spiritually is Babylon, but literally is Rome (17, 18).

And after these things I saw another angel come down form heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying:—"Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the

hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying:—'Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches is come to nought.' And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying:—'What city is like unto this great city!' And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying:—'Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.'"

7. And over against this account of the destruction of the mystical Babylon, the symbol of all unrighteous power, is set a description of the holy city, the new Jerusalem, the symbol of the new heaven and the new earth (19-21).

I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there

was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying:—

"Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away." And he that sat upon the throne said:—"Behold, I make all things new."

And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; and had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel: On the east three gates; On the north three gates; On the south three gates; And on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. And the city lieth four-square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal. And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel. And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyte; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz

the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

XXII

THE LIBRARY OF THE GRACE OF GOD

LOOKING back now over the books of this library, thus bound together in a single volume, we perceive that they are characterized by a wide variety of literary forms. Here are histories and biographies and collections of letters; lyric and dramatic poems; speeches and sermons.

Taking these writings merely as pieces of literature, they are of extraordinary value by reason of the skill with which they are translated into English. Of all translations out of ancient languages into any kind of modern speech this is by far the best. Tyndale and Coverdale who did it worked under many disadvantages; Tyndale especially being hindered by adverse conditions of haste, and change of place, and constant peril of his life. It is remarkable that the scholars who revised the translation in the reign of King James I, and the scholars who revised it again in the reign of Queen Victoria, found so little need of change.

Tyndale and Coverdale lived, indeed, at a time when the English language was spoken with such purity, simplicity and dignity as no subsequent age has equaled. But it was to them that these qualities were in great measure due. They determined the language

in which Shakespeare and Milton wrote. This they were enabled to do because in their day printing was invented. Thus they not only made a book which multitudes of people desired to read, but the new press met that desire and put the book into the people's hands. The words and phrases of Tyndale and Coverdale became a national possession. They were read in the ears of the people every Sunday, and learned by heart, and taught to children. They rescued the English language out of provincial diversity, and made the English of the Bible the standard of universal use. In spite of all the changes and differences of four centuries, we still speak and write,—whenever we do these things well,—in the manner of the English Bible.

This achievement of Tyndale and Coverdale was made possible by the complete sincerity of their purpose. Their one sole intention was to get the Bible into the mind and heart of England. They had no literary ambition, no desire to put themselves forward for praise or profit. Herein they were in the spirit of the men whose writings they translated, who so subordinated themselves to their message that the names of many of them are unknown, or are only guessed at. They had no pride of authorship. They were therefore free from many temptations to artificiality and elaboration. It was easy for them to be simple, and to choose plain and enduring words.

This they did also because they had in mind the plain people. They hoped that as a result of their labors the words of the Bible would be recited by the farmer as he followed the plow, and sung by the

farmer's wife as she went about her household work. Scholars and educated persons would continue to read the Bible in Latin. The English Bible was not for them. Tyndale and Coverdale, accordingly, chose words of Saxon derivation in preference to words of Latin derivation, and preserved the brevity and directness of the Hebrew and Greek originals. They made the prophets and apostles speak plain English.

When scholars distinguish, as for example in the *Acts,* between "translation" Greek and other Greek, they detect the fact of translation by certain qualities of awkwardness and stiffness in the sentences. There is a lack of spontaneity and freedom. No such inferiorities appear in the English Bible. This is "translation" English, but it is written with so much sympathy and understanding, and so much of the writer's heart is put into it, that it is not only as good as the original, but sometimes better. Indeed, there are parts of the English Bible, especially the *Gospels,* in which the homeliness and unconventionality of the original is somewhat obscured by the unfailing stateliness of the translation. Not only religion but literature is the loser by any neglect of the English Bible in the education of youth. Only to read these splendid sentences, to get the cadence and melody of them, to attend to their words and phrases, pure and undefiled and chosen with unfailing skill, is to enter into the privilege of a high discipline in the art of writing. Our chief men of letters have learned their art in this school, often by the process of committing passages of these books to memory. They have perceived, from the point of

view of literature, that the English Bible is the supreme English book.

The men who made it, like the men whose writings they translated, were intent on religion. They cared for nothing else. They were of the mind of St. Paul when he said, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." They found these books "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." They believed that those who read them aright would thereby become "wise unto salvation." They accounted the Bible as one of the means of grace. Out of it the minister was to instruct the people; in it the people diligently reading would find the minister's instruction confirmed or corrected; by means of it both minister and people would grow in grace and in the knowledge and love of God.

The translators of these writings into English knew very well that they belong for the most part to the literature of protest and revolution. It was for that reason that they set about translating them, and for that reason that the authorities of church and state tried at first to stop them.

The great men of the Old Testament are the prophets, who in almost every instance spoke for the minority, opposed themselves to the established order, and were obnoxious to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. They are represented by Amos, who reports God as saying of the state, "The high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel

shall be laid waste, and I will arise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword"; and as saying of the church, "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies; I will not accept your sacrifices; I will shut my ears to the music of your services."

The great men of the New Testament are the apostles, who defied the state, saying, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye"; and who separated from the church, saying, "We know very well what the church says, and upon what texts of the Bible it bases its declaration, 'Except ye keep the law of Moses ye cannot be saved,' but it seems good to us and to the Holy Ghost to prefer the testimony of present experience and the call of new conditions before all the canons and rubrics, and precedents and traditions of the past." And the supreme saint and hero, about whom the whole Bible is centered, is one who was formally rejected, and deliberately put to death, by the official action of the church and the state combined. The Bible is a dangerous and dynamic book, radical and revolutionary, essentially democratic, and puts all conservatisms in peril. Thus it is an armory for the forces of militant progress.

The Bible belongs not only to the literature of revolution but to the literature of defeat. The prophets were persistently and almost unfailingly defeated. For example, the mission of Amos and Hosea was to stir the northern kingdom to repentance and amendment, but they were not successful. They preached

their tremendous sermons without producing any considerable effect. Jesus Christ was defeated. Paul was defeated: the conservative brethren silenced him, got him sent to prison, thence to Rome where he was beheaded. Not only this, but the people of God were defeated. The latter part of the Old Testament, especially the writings of the prophets, the book of *Job*, and many of the psalms, were written under conditions of invasion and deportation. It had been possible to say, as in *Deuteronomy*, "We shall be delivered at last, and our adversaries shall be cast down and miserably punished, because their cause is unjust and God is on the side of the righteous," but the time came when that could be said no longer. At least, if hope remained, it shone dimly on the far horizon, as a vision to be realized in the remote future. The situation was that of a world war, in which the aggressors were now the Assyrians, then the Chaldeans, then the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, first one vast conqueror and then another, all of them pagan; while the people of God, the little community of faithful Jews, passed from bondage to bondage, and from oppression to oppression. These conditions presented the problem of pain under all the circumstances which seem to make its solution by faith impossible. How can we believe in a righteous God who does not help the righteous?

But the Bible which thus belongs to the literature of defeat belongs also to the literature of comfort. It is the handbook of patience and comfort. The amazing fact which it sets forth is that defeat does not result in disbelief. These defeated people say with the

psalmist, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble." When the world is at the worst and blackest, they cry with Job, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." The result is that afflicted people in all subsequent times, whether in individual or in national disaster, have been inspired and mightily encouraged by these examples. They have learned from the Bible that it is possible to descend into the valley of the shadow of death, saying, "I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." When there is no peace such as the world can give, they have entered into the benediction of him who said, "My peace I give unto you." The Bible is thus a treasury of consolation. It is a "refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall." The wise go to it, and read in it, when the way of life is beset with difficulty and defeat.

This "comfort of the Scriptures" is based in part upon the exaltation of the spiritual over the material side of life. The Bible people, as we accompany them from book to book through their long history, attach less and less importance to their possessions. They discover by experience that they can get along without them. In the New Testament this becomes an accepted standard of living. The Son of Man has no place to lay his head; neither have the apostles who follow him. They are poor men, who when night comes sleep under the protection of the trees. They do not complain of their poverty: they prefer it, and advise others to share it, like a privilege. They are independently poor. So is St. Paul, who though poor

is making many rich, and though having nothing yet possesses all things. These men have exchanged the restricted limits of walls and roof for the illimitable freedom of the round horizon. They have escaped the temptations and anxieties which beset the owners of possessions, and have freed themselves from manifold attacks of fear. They know what he meant who said, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him." They feared nobody else.

The Bible is the golden book of noble conduct. Its unfailing message is that to do right is the whole of life. There are long periods, and long books describing them, when the standard of right is low, and things are done which contradict our idea of the will of God, but this is because man is a progressive being, and comes slowly by the divine tuition of experience into better knowledge of the best. The history of these times of experiment and slow education is to be read for our admonition rather than for our example. Even so, the record is full of encouragement, for it shows how the race has come on out of the ethics of the desert and the wilderness into the increasing excellences of settled and civilized life, to enter at last into the new way of the Sermon on the Mount. Here the ideals of conduct reach their height, toward which mankind still climbs with many falls and failures. By this new standard, which is set forth not only in the words but in the life of Jesus, all of the precepts of

the past are to be tested. We can not imagine a loftier ideal of social conduct than is contained in his commandment, "That ye love one another as I have loved you."

In the Bible this life, even when it is lived imperfectly, is in the presence of God. The Bible people, even of those parts of the Old Testament which seem farthest removed from what we now understand to be right and true, are constantly conscious of God. In the best instincts which they have, no matter how mistaken, they hear the voice of God. We are troubled, as we read, by the serene confidence with which they cite the divine approval for acts which we know to be against the perfect will of God. It annoys us to find them appealing so confidently to the divine sanction of that which we know to be wrong. We perceive that the Old Testament idea of God differs from our idea. But the fine thing is that they were conscious of God at all. They were unfailingly conscious of him. They desired to please him. Thus it was that they became a people whose place in religion was like the place of the Greeks in art, and of the Romans in law; they were at the same time the most moral and the most religious of all nations. They grew in grace by the discipline of living as in the divine presence. Thus they produced this library of the Bible, the most sincere, high-minded, brave-hearted, reverent and religious collection of books which has ever been made by any people.

The reading of these books will make us sharers of their spirit. Here we will be admitted to the high

company not only of saints and heroes but of plain people whose supreme thought is of God, whose lives are lived in the sight of God. They are in constant contact with the invisible world, from which they receive the benedictions of grace. They have the secret of the new heavens and the new earth. They are strengthened against temptation, and directed in perplexity, and find comfort in the midst of extraordinary and continued afflictions. Here are the prayers which they prayed, providing words for our prayers; and the praises in which they glorified God; and the precepts which they tried to follow. And here, especially, the flower of their religion, is Jesus Christ, in whom the supreme ideal of the good life is revealed. To attend to his words, and to enter into some measure of his spirit, is to attain salvation, which means the good health of the soul, both in this life and in the life to come.

THE END

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